The Engineering of Consent

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The Engineering of Consent

The Theory and Practice of Public Relations: A Résumé

Edward L. Bernays

BOOKS ON PUBLIC RELATIONS usually place undue emphasis on the minutiae of public relations. They discuss the proper fashioning of the tools—selection of lists, rules for copy preparation, and other subjects—but neglect the guiding philosophy, the basic techniques which enable the tools to be used efficiently. It is as if books on surgery concerned themselves mainly with the shape and sharpness of surgical instruments and how to wield them. Obviously a knowledge of what characterizes a good public relations tool is important, but it is by no means the whole story.

This book uses a different approach. It examines public relations from the broad viewpoint. It considers what it is, what relation it has to society, how it approaches a problem, how that approach is made.

Of necessity, we must define public relations before we can discuss these aspects of it.

Public relations is the attempt, by information, per-

suasion, and adjustment, to engineer public support for an activity, cause, movement, or institution.

Professionally, its activities are planned and executed by trained practitioners in accordance with scientific principles, based on the findings of social scientists. Their dispassionate approach and methods may be likened to those of the engineering professions which stem from the physical sciences.

This book takes its form from this engineering approach. In this first chapter, I briefly review the subject as a whole. In the following chapters, seven outstanding experts present their best thinking on various aspects of the problem. Their contributions are based on many years of practical experience. Taken together, these chapters present, we believe, a comprehensive, integrated picture of the field.

In their several chapters, the experts cover the defining of objectives, the research to find out whether original objectives are attainable or must be reoriented after the research has been made, the determination of strategy, the use of themes and symbols, the development of an organization to carry out activity, planning, and the tactics to be used to meet the objectives.

Since World War I, increased attention has been paid to public opinion by all who deal with the public. Public relations practitioners are found today in industry, government, the arts, and the sciences. The business, financial, theatrical, sports, and advertising news columns of our newspapers constantly report public relations appointments to new posts. Forums, debates, speeches deal with public relations problems.

Evidences of the power of public opinion prove to every man the necessity of understanding the public, of adjusting to it, of informing it, of winning it over. The ability to do so is the test of leadership.

Competition for attention of the public has been continually broadened and intensified because the public decides whether an enterprise is to succeed or fail. New instruments of transportation and mass communication, airplane, radio, movies, television, accelerate the spread of ideas. People who previously had little access to them are exposed to attitudes, ideas, and courses of action.

The situation has become so complicated that leaders in most fields find they need expert advice in dealing with their publics. This is true of food manufacturers, universities, religious leaders, and politicians, to name but a diverse few.

A new profession, public relations counsel, evolved soon after World War I to meet this need. The public relations counsel has been defined as an expert in "analyzing public relations maladjustments"; as "locating probable causes of such maladjustments in the social behavior of the client, and in the sentiments and opinions of publics"; and as "advising the client on suitable corrective measures." He is proficient in applying scientific social theories and tested techniques in solving many of the problems of society.

Since technology has advanced at greater speed than society's social understanding and sociological disciplines, the need for trained professionals who can deal with increasingly difficult problems of adjustment, interpretation, and persuasion is greater than the number available.

There are too few trained and skilled practitioners. In the earlier years of the profession, many crowded in who had little specialized skill, aptitude, or experience. Experts with a social point of view were lacking.

However, because of its great usefulness, public relations expanded in spite of this drawback. The literature expanded, educational activities and opportunities broadened. More and more practitioners now recognize that they are professionals in an activity that demands character, education, and training. Industry and government have gradually raised standards of training and performance. The public is slowly learning to understand the place and function of public relations.

As the social sciences gained in authority, so, too, did public relations. Today, as a profession, public relations is slowly learning to use the findings of social sciences for the benefit of business and other sectors of society.

The study of our culture and of individual behavior and personality is being carried on by social scientists of the United States and Europe. Answers are sought for such questions as why we behave as we do, why behavior changes, whether human nature changes. Studies were made to discover answers to these questions and how they might be used to improve intergroup adjustments. Methods were developed for practical application of the new psychology, sociology, anthropology, social psychology, and other disciplines. The reasons for our individual and group culture patterns began to be understood. The causes of actions were beginning to emerge. Psychology, social psychology, psychiatry, and psychoanalysis fur-

nished many clues. It began to seem probable that a limited predictability of conduct might be developed through knowledge of motivations.

The social sciences continue to give us the answer to many such important questions. Thirty thousand men and women at universities and foundations are currently trying to find facts about behavior.

There are three broad functions of public relations counsel: adjustment, information, and persuasion, and all three are the subjects of study by social scientists.

Adjustment is a primary element in good public relations. It is now generally recognized that people, groups, and organizations need to adjust to one another if we are ever to have a smooth-running society. A company that does not adjust its attitudes and actions to the public suffers the result of poor public relations. A public that lacks understanding of a company is also adversely affected. Ignorance, prejudice, apathy, distortions need to be corrected. When maladjustments are based on real abuses, irritating conditions should be changed. Maladjustments caused by imagined abuses, by misunderstanding, are likewise susceptible of correction. Information and persuasion are necessary tools in adjusting conditions.

The information process very obviously is not merely the act of expressing an idea or stating a fact. It is complicated effort toward a specific end, utilizing highly complex communication media and techniques.

A little folder issued by the Communications Center of the University of Chicago demonstrates how intricate the communications process is. Under "Research Seminars in Communications," for instance, the follow-

ing subjects are discussed: research in mass operation, media research, sociological research, individual research. The psychology of communications, social aspects of communications, political aspects, communication language and culture, and the economic and administrative aspects of communications are explored.

Persuasion, the third base on which public relations rests, is an inseparable part of a democratic way of life. In a sense, the Bill of Rights in the Constitution guarantees our right to persuade. It is implied and inherent in freedom of speech, assembly, and press. These rights may not be abridged. But like other rights, the right of persuasion is subject to abuses.

Society tries to protect itself against abuses of freedom of speech by enacting laws on slander. Libel laws protect us against abuses of freedom of the press. So, too, government has made rules to protect the public against persuasion abuses in certain fields. In advertising, the Pure Food and Drug Act and the Federal Trade Commission curb, by legal measures, excesses in persuasion affecting the public interest. Public opinion, through advertising regulations of the Better Business Bureau, also exerts sanctions against persuasion abuses.

On the whole, persuasion fills a great social need. It would be ideal if all of us could make up our minds independently by evaluating all pertinent facts objectively. This, however, is not possible. None of us has access to all facts about everything.

How can society use existing knowledge about the three tools—adjustment, information, and persuasion—

for the benefit of the private and the public interests? We believe this book contains many of the needed answers.

Our aim will be to demonstrate how engineering methods can be applied in tackling our problems. We can plan our approaches by using theories and methods which have been proved in the last several years of work in the social sciences and public relations.

It is necessary not only for professionals to understand public relations, but also for laymen, who must look to experts for advice. Executives who use professional advice need to know how to appraise the expert. Even in the case of older established professions, doctors and lawyers are often misjudged by laymen, who are misled by false standards and values. In public relations, the client or employer who cannot appraise the expert is seriously handicapped. Public relations can be correctly evaluated only through a clear understanding of the public relations process.

In 1947, in "The Engineering of Consent," published by the *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, I outlined the background for such understanding. In this present volume, my colleagues and I have expanded this point of view. We treat the subject as a broad social-engineering process.

Most problems, it has been found, can be handled effectively by proceeding according to the following pattern:

1. *Define your objectives.*
2. *Research your publics.*
3. *Modify your objectives to reach goals that research shows are attainable.*

4. *Decide on your strategy.*
5. *Set up your themes, symbols, and appeals.*
6. *Blueprint an effective organization to carry on activity.*
7. *Chart your plan for both timing and tactics.*
8. *Carry out your tactics.*

Define your objectives

The next chapter of this book deals with defining your objectives. As Howard W. Cutler, my associate for many years, stresses in his opening paragraph, every public relations activity should have an objective, a goal, an end towards which activities are directed. Naturally, these goals vary in each case. They differ as to the time needed for attainment of the goal. They differ as to the publics or public on which success depends. Often a goal is not defined at the outset. Frequently, the people who control the destiny of an enterprise have not agreed upon a goal. The enterprise has just grown and goals may never have been examined by the policy makers. That is regrettable, for then the public relations effort becomes unrelated to an end.

Any public relations activity should carefully and exactly define its objectives. This is often an extremely difficult thing to do.

The first step in defining objectives is to bring about a meeting of minds of the policy makers, to get them to agree on specific objectives.

In defining objectives, a balance between the demands made by the different publics on which the success of an enterprise depends must be kept in mind. In

the case of a profit organization, for instance, goals must be designed to bring about the desired rapport with consumers, the working public, the community, government, stockholders, purveyors, and so on.

Defining the objective in any public relations activity requires a realistic approach in terms of integration of your interest with those of the various publics.

Final formulation of these objectives depends upon another step. You must be sure your objectives are sound, that they do not represent simply hopes and desires based on a subjective evaluation of the circumstances. Your objectives, to be realized, must be attainable; otherwise you are wasting time and effort in activities based on preconceptions with little relation to reality.

Research your publics

That brings you to the next step in an effective public relations approach—research. An entire chapter deals with this subject. You must research your publics before you start the process of interest integration. Thirty years ago, little scientific measurement existed. Today, the situation is different. Over the last thirty years, social scientists and professional researchers have developed methods which will help any group or individual to chart his course accurately by sounding out the public before proceeding.

There are many different research methods. Some of them have been tested both in the laboratory and in the field of action. You can use methods like the Gallup Poll approach, or projective tests developed by H. A. Murray at Harvard University. In the chapter on research, Sherwood Dodge, vice-president of Foote, Cone and Belding,

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discusses at length its relation to consent engineering. He treats authoritatively such subjects as sampling, questionnaires, interviews, tabulation and analysis, standards, operation, and the value of the experimental idea.

Modify your objectives

Research may indicate that the goals you have set for yourself are completely unrealistic in terms of the man power, mind power, and money you have available to meet them. The situation you may be working in may make your goals impossible of achievement: you may be dealing with a public unwilling to accept your project because it is prejudiced, or competitive situations or other realities may jeopardize your goal.

You may have to modify your objectives in one direction or another. You may find after your research that more comprehensive objectives are attainable in a shorter time and with less effort. Or you may find that only more limited objectives are attainable through the proposed effort. But whatever you find, you will be using the facts that the research has uncovered to help you in checking on the goal you set originally.

Research can also find out which words, pictures, and actions will intensify favorable attitudes, which ones may convert people to one's point of view and may help to negate distorted or prejudiced viewpoints. This aspect of research becomes an important one in limiting the field of future work, of pinpointing activities for consideration.

In planning for research, keep in mind both the goal to be sought and the amount of money, time, and effort to be spent in making the research. The research budget

will need to be thought of in terms of the total effort. The research expenditure, if it is effectively used, will save time and effort and cut down elements of chance. Whatever the sum that can be allotted to it, a little research well planned is better than no research at all. Where large-scale undertakings, involving large expenditures of time and money, are contemplated, advance research moneys should be allotted.

Decide on your strategy

After research, the next step in public relations procedure is to decide on the correct strategy.

Strategy is all important. Without correct strategy, nothing will be accomplished, or, at best, what is accomplished will be purchased only at great waste of time, money, and effort.

A chapter in this book is devoted to explaining various types of strategy. Let us here consider its place in the whole public-relations picture.

Correct strategy is the essential link between formulating the objective, conducting the research, and putting in motion the train of action to achieve the result you want.

There must be strategic planning at the very topmost level before the campaign begins—not merely planning as to specific tactics, as to timing, as to allocation of forces,—though all of these are essential. Strategic planning is something above and beyond those. It consists of the first great decisions—the ones which delimit all other activity. It involves rejection as well as acceptance.

Let me illustrate what I mean by two examples.

In the first instance, the objective is to elect a particular candidate to public office at an election three months off. The political situation is tense. Each side has ample funds.

In the second case, a worthy educational institution, without much money and with a specialized usefulness, wants to increase its enrollment and endowment.

Obviously strategies to attain the two objectives will be very different. In the case of the political candidacy, correct strategic thinking will dictate a hard-hitting, *blitzkrieg* campaign, waged intensively on all fronts simultaneously. This will be the only way to overcome the handicap of the time element. Necessarily, such an approach will result in some wasted effort, some duplication, and a generally uneconomical approach. But all possible publics must be contacted quickly and made the target of a barrage of fact, opinion, and interpretation. Selectivity must be sacrificed to breadth and variety of attack.

But in the case of the educational institution, how different is the desirable strategy! There is no time deadline, but there must be as little wasted effort as possible—budgetary restrictions make that vital. Likewise, since the school's field of usefulness is specialized, the potentially interested publics are limited. Strategy here would call for a careful, gradual approach, primarily by personal contact at first, later by direct mail, to group leaders within the specialized fields of the school's appeal. The building of prestige and influence would be slow and gradual, the result of steady accretion.

The two examples above show diametrically opposed strategies. Each solution is proper to the problem for

which it was formulated. Each would be disastrous if used to solve the other's problem.

There are many other basic strategies, and infinite variations of each. It is the duty of the public relations counsel, working with the client, to set up the correct basic strategy for the problem at hand.

And each problem must be faced completely afresh. Experience, it is true, will contribute to a correct approach. But there must be no stereotypes of thinking when formulating strategy. Problems may parallel one another. But they are never exactly duplicates. The planning of correct strategy to meet each new problem is one of the most fascinating aspects of public relations work.

The chapter on strategy included in this book proceeds from general theory to concrete illustrations of various types of strategy. In it, Nicholas Samstag, director of promotion for *Time*, discusses the strategy of timing, the strategy of forbearance, the strategy of approach, the strategy of surprise, the strategy of participation, the strategy of association, and the strategy of disassociation. The chapter also covers other types of strategy, such as personalization, *fait accompli* (incidentally, one of the riskiest of all, as Mr. Samstag points out), bland withdrawal, apparent withdrawal, apparent runner-up, reversal, mosaic, and understatement. Discussions under each heading are as authoritative and intriguing as the subtitles, and illustrated by actual examples of their successful employment.

Finally, in the chapter on strategy there is a discussion of the ethics of strategy—a thought-provoking summing up.

Set up your themes

Allied to strategy, and in a sense a part of it, is the selection of over-all themes for the campaign. These themes are to the campaign what the "story line" is in a work of fiction. They embody the ideas to be conveyed; they channel the lines of approach to the several publics. They are expressed over and over again, in ever varied form. They condition all that is vocally or visually presented through the various media of communication.

In selecting the proper themes through which to project the campaign message, the public relations counsel must first match up the campaign objectives with those fundamental human desires which can be satisfied by the campaign's success. For example, a campaign to sell more milk could rely on health themes, since everyone desires good health. On the other hand, milk could not be popularized as an exotic drink since it would be impossible, at least in this country, to equate milk-drinking with the desire for adventure and new experience.

In the chapter on themes, Doris E. Fleischman and Howard W. Cutler, my associates, give examples of the many, many different types of themes which are used every day by those engaged in the art of public persuasion. They show how they are applied, varied to suit the circumstance, and accented or subordinated in accordance with campaign strategy and tactics.

It is not my purpose here to anticipate or duplicate that chapter, but the tremendous role of the theme in all successful public relations efforts cannot be overemphasized. Rapport with one's publics depends on the correct choice and utilization of themes. Unless the public relations effort can be made to coincide with fundamental motivations, the public's interest will be but fragmentary and transitory.

It is obvious, of course, that many objectives can appeal to more than one basic motivation, and that, therefore, a variety of themes can be used in nearly every campaign. Indeed, a single objective may, in some instances, appeal to almost the entire gamut of human motivation and thus make possible the use of well-nigh endless theme variety. Such a single objective is the national desire to win a war. Likewise, where there is a variety of objectives, there will be a corresponding variety of applicable themes.

It is, however, impossible to discuss themes realistically without some mention of the symbol. Symbols are shortcuts to understanding, and through them themes are most frequently and most effectively expressed.

The themes, though ever present, are nevertheless intangible. On the other hand, symbols are quite frequently, though not always, very tangible indeed.

A symbol may be anything that stands for an idea. The flag is the symbol of patriotism. The wedding veil is the symbol of purity. The crown is the symbol of power. Sackcloth and ashes were the ancient symbols of sorrow. The list is infinite and Miss Fleischman and Mr. Cutler discuss them at length in their chapter. They point out their role in creating identification with admired personages, actions, thoughts, and ways of life.

A real test of public relations ability is the recognition and selection of symbols which are best suited to project chosen themes. And another test is devising all

possible ways to project those symbols to the desired publics. Symbols may be projected both audibly and visually, by representation as well as in actuality. For example, the flag may pass at the head of the Memorial Day parade, or you may simply see the picture of it being raised over Suribachi. Either way, it arouses patriotic emotion. Or you may not see the flag at all, but when you hear *The Star-Spangled Banner*, you receive the same impression.

Since there is an infinity of specialized, overlapping publics to be appealed to in most public relations efforts, the great desideratum is, first, to find all the themes that will appeal to those many publics, clearly defining which appeals to which. Next is the necessity of matching the theme-carrying symbol to the particular audience with which it has significance. For example, nothing would be more futile than to try to sell miniature elephants at a Democratic Party convention.

In this selection of symbols, research, as I noted some pages back, can play a most useful part. Indeed, it is in theme and symbol selection that the public relations counsel finds the social scientist exhibiting some of his greatest values. The studies conducted during the past thirty years by sociologists, anthropologists, psychologists, and others of group and ethnic thought patterns and motivations are a gold mine of theme-symbol source material.

Up to this point, I have touched briefly on the relation of objectives, research, strategy, and themes to the over-all public relations effort. They are vital and fundamental, but you will note that they are all precampaign undertakings. Though objectives have been clarified, re-

search completed, over-all strategy decided upon, and themes selected, we still are not in touch with our publics. The public relations effort has still not got off base. How can this be accomplished?

Blueprint your organization

The next step is organization—the marshalling of all the necessary forces in terms of money, man power, and facilities which are needed to insure an effective campaign. Such organization will include not only all necessary regular staff workers, but also the activities of specialists who may be called upon, from time to time, such as opinion researchers, fund raisers, radio, motion picture and TV experts, specialists for women's clubs and foreign language groups, and the like.

Improvisation in music is delightful, but when depended upon to carry a public relations campaign, it is disastrous. Insofar as possible, everything should be thought through and provided for before the campaign begins. Enough unexpected situations will always arise without inviting more through simple failure to organize effectively in advance.

In his chapter, "Organizing for Public Relations," John Price Jones, the pre-eminent leader in the fund raising field, treats the many faceted problem in great detail. He sets forth the many ramifications of correct organization and charts optimum procedure based on his long experience.

Obviously the term "organization" is very broad, and frequently becomes part of "planning" and "tactics," or even "strategy" as discussed by the various authorities

who have contributed to this volume. But however defined, the approach is vital.

Just as an undirected army is only a mob, so an unorganized public relations effort is only chaos confounded. Before any objective can be obtained, it is necessary not only to know where we are going, but how we are to get there.

A successful public relations effort always depends on the constant interplay of many different talents and skills—executive, writing, research, clerical, production, contact, and so on. The possessors of these skills and abilities must be recruited in sufficient numbers, be properly housed, and be provided with necessary equipment. Lines of authority and responsibility must be clearly laid out and work load assigned. All this must be done before the public relations effort really gets under way.

Setting up the proper organization requires, obviously, the closest co-operation between the client and his public relations counsel. Not only should the client's money be spent to the best advantage, but also there must be a proper meshing of the campaign activity and the special campaign staff (if there be one) with the client's permanent organization.

Unless there is proper liaison at all times between the client's office and campaign headquarters, much effort is wasted and the success of the campaign is jeopardized. And unless there is proper advance organization, there is not likely to be proper liaison.

Naturally, the question of how elaborate organization needs to be is answered by the extent and intensity

of the campaign. A national political campaign and arrangements for a trade association luncheon are two very different things. But organization there must be in both cases if either is to succeed.

The creation of a proper organization in terms of man power, money and facilities is, of course, only one part of an over-all planning operation; in fact, proper organization can flow only from proper planning.

Chart your plan

And planning, as it relates to every phase of operation, must be done in advance. Just as an engineer, before building a bridge, works out every detail to the minutest degree before any orders for materials are given, so must the public relations effort be planned with great care and detail.

All the skills of the trained public relations man go for naught unless he uses them in accordance with a well thought out action blueprint drawn up in advance. Regardless of the media employed—written words, sounds, pictures—the effort will accomplish little if it proceeds on a haphazard basis.

In these considerations, we need to remember that all planning has to be flexible. The engineer provides leeway of safety in calculating stresses and strains. So, too, the public relations director must have a safety reserve in terms of time, money, manpower, and techniques to allow for the unforeseen and to allow him to take advantage of the unexpected.

In the chapter entitled "Planning," Benjamin Fine, education editor of *The New York Times*, gives extended

and highly informed treatment to the whole subject. He shows how advance planning must extend to every phase of operation.

Many years ago, I used the phrase, "the engineering of consent." Engineering implies planning. And it is careful planning more than anything else that distinguishes modern public relations from old-time hit or miss publicity and propaganda.

By planning, and only by planning, can we avoid the segmental approach—the nemesis of many public relation efforts. As I stated in *Public Relations*, "the problem is not to get articles into a newspaper or obtain radio time, or arrange for a motion picture newsreel it is, rather, to set in motion a broad activity, the success of which depends on interlocking all phases and elements of the proposed strategy, implemented by tactics that are timed to the moment of maximum effectiveness. An action held over but one day may fall completely flat. Skilled and imaginative timing has determined the success of many mass movements and campaigns, the familiar phenomena so typical of the American people's behavior pattern."

The engineer of consent must arouse interest, and to do so his activity must be newsworthy.

Now an interesting thing about public relations planning is that, by taking forethought, one can "create" newsworthy action. It is not necessary to lie in wait and only capitalize on what some fortuitous event sets in motion. Also, by proper planning, a newsworthy event, once created, may be made the basis of a whole series of succeeding events. For example, a public figure may be induced to speak at some banquet. His remarks are re-

ported widely. The public relations director then sends reprints to other leaders in various fields asking for comment. The comments are made the basis for further publicity. Experts on the subject may then be called together for a conference to further discuss the problem. Their findings are reported and distributed, and so on.

As I stated some years ago in an article in *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, "the imaginatively planned event can successfully compete for attention with other events. Newsworthy events involving people usually do not happen by accident. They are planned deliberately to accomplish a purpose, to influence ideas and actions."

Now, with objectives determined, research completed, strategy decided upon, themes and symbols selected, organization and planning perfected, we move into actual action. We call upon our man power, money, and facilities to execute their joint tactical mission.

Carry out your tactics

The special tactics of the campaign have already been laid down in the planning operation. These have included such items as what media to employ (newspapers, radio, TV, direct mail, word-of-mouth, etc.); how often to employ them; what relative emphasis to give them. The plan has also provided for co-operative effort of other interested group leaders and organizations. It has given careful consideration to timing. It has, in short, marshalled on paper all possible public relations resources applicable to the problem, and theoretically deployed them to the best advantage.

Now, will the plan work? Will the tactical mission be carried out as planned? In the chapter on "Tactics of Public Relations," Brigadier General A. Robert Ginsburgh, USAF (retired) defines public relations tactics as being the "skillful employment of the tools and methods used to convey thought . . .". In that chapter, he lays emphasis on one very important consideration, too often overlooked by the beginner in public relations. That is, it is necessary to use the tools with as much skill as it takes to evolve the plan.

In public relations necessity for care extends to every aspect of tactical effort.

One must be sure not only that the tactics are generally effective, but that they will be effective in a particular situation. For example, the use of pictures to illustrate text is sound tactics. But if you were preparing a promotion piece on new fashions about town, you would want to make sure no out-of-date gowns or accessories were worn by anyone in the picture.

Likewise, this care must extend to things as detailed as proofreading. A careless misprint may convert an otherwise effective mailing piece into a subject of ridicule and make it boomerang upon you.

Care in the choice and use of tactics must hold throughout the campaign. It is fatal to ease up as the campaign nears its close and success seems assured. A slip at the end, due to inattention, may undo the work of months and mean the waste of thousands of dollars.

Another important thing to remember about tactics is that success is often not apparent at once. The effectiveness of public relations is cumulative in nature. Any

specific action may be blanketed by competing news, or it may merely start a quiet reaction in some quarter whence the effect may ultimately be very great. The art of public relations is often analogous to the act of a boy dropping stones into a half-full pail of water. At first nothing much happens. But gradually the water level rises, and finally the bucket overflows—provided, that is, the boy keeps dropping stones long enough.

Nothing helps more than experience in doing an effective tactical job in public relations. But the experience need not be yours alone. The constant study of tactics as practiced day by day by others is invaluable. Every event and chain of events reported in the press, if read with a discerning and analytical mind, provides valuable hints for the alert public relations practitioner.

The proof of effectiveness in public relations, obviously, is the ultimate attainment of the objective. Which of all the elements—research, strategy, formation of objectives, themes, organization, planning, tactics—is the most vital to this success is impossible to say. They work as a team. But certainly without proper tactical implementation nothing would be accomplished.

In this opening chapter I have attempted to provide an over-all picture of the public relations pattern, showing the interrelation of its various important elements, one with the other. The necessity of the engineering approach, if activity is to be successful, has, I hope, been sufficiently impressed upon the reader. Now the experts who are my joint authors will show how this over-all thesis applies to the special phase of public relations work which each discusses.

Objectives

Howard Walden Cutler

SOME NINETY YEARS AGO, a now famous conversation took place between a little girl, a mock turtle, and a gryphon. In the course of it, the mock turtle remarked, "Why if a fish came to me and told me he was going on a journey, I should say, 'With what porpoise?'" To Alice's query whether he didn't mean "purpose," the offended creature made a grumpy denial. Nevertheless Alice had a point. And certainly in public relations it is axiomatic that every program should have a purpose—usually termed an objective.

Without an objective any activity becomes pointless. Yet, too often, individuals, groups, organizations, and corporations engage in some phase or phases of public relations work without really knowing precisely what they want to accomplish thereby.

They usually think they have an objective, and in a vague general way this is true. The corporation wants to increase sales. The organization wants to gain more mem-

bers. The group wants to help a worthy cause. The individual wants increased prestige.

But such generalized objectives can at most only define an ultimate goal. They cannot themselves provide the many buoys along the channel by which the desired anchorage is attained.

Every successful public relations campaign must be predicated on laying out in advance a whole series of objectives to be attained one after the other in orderly fashion. The cumulative effect of their total realization is the achievement of the ultimate over-all goal.

Unless such a series of objectives is defined in advance, there cannot but be wasted time, effort, and money as a result of whatever activity is undertaken.

When planning the activity as a whole and each and every step within it, these questions should be constantly repeated over and over, both by the client and his public relations counsel, "What do I want to accomplish? Why do I do this rather than something else?" And the answers should be concrete ones—not just easy generalizations. "This letter is to interest such and such a group. I want to interest them because . . ." "This overt act is to attract the attention of . . . I want to get their attention because . . ."

Such a specific down-to-earth approach will have two results—both of them important. In the first place, it will clarify everybody's thinking and doing; and, second, it will keep a campaign from soaring off into the wild blue yonder.

And if, as is usually the case, the campaign is being run for some group, or the client is represented by a com-

mittee, there will be the tremendous additional advantage of attaining a uniform understanding of objectives. When a public relations counsel first starts to work with a given group, it is by no means unusual for him to discover that every director has a different idea of what the true objectives are. Some of the objectives may be self-opposing. No one has hitherto taken the time to clarify and unify top policy thinking. There has been an unfounded assumption that everyone has the same general approach to the problem as everyone else on the board.

Now, of course, there is no use defining an objective if the objective itself is impractical or unattainable. That fact would seem so clear as scarcely to need mention. Yet it is surprising to note how impractical objectives can often be—even when formulated by practical men. The trouble is that wish fulfillment and false identification of others' interests as being similar to one's own are human and widespread failings. They are tendencies that even the most astute must guard against.

An objective is not necessarily to be attained just because it seems desirable. It is not necessarily to be attained even if the client is willing to engage the most expert public relations advisers and is prepared to devote an unlimited budget to furthering the effort. For an objective to be attainable, there must be an existing or a creatable community of interest between the client and the different publics whose support is essential.

Not infrequently the public relations counsel is looked upon as a sort of wizard at the court of industry or whatever the field of his action. It is presumed that by spells and incantations he can accomplish the impossible.

Every person of real professional standing deplores the existence of this attitude. But "medicine men" have been sought after ever since primitive man first created them. The public relations counsel cannot do the impossible—he can only help make the possible probable, and the probable an actuality.

An attainable objective must lie within the main stream of historical development. For example, fifty years ago Studebaker made farm wagons. Today, it might be possible to devise ways and means of boosting Studebaker-Packard sales by a public relations campaign based on its present automotive line, but no one could devise a successful campaign to increase its sales predicated on a return to the manufacture of Studebaker horse-drawn equipment. On the other hand, it is conceivable that even in the automotive age you could increase sales of riding boots, saddles, and bits by a campaign to increase the popularity of horseback riding as a sport.

The attainable objective must also be based on due consideration of the prejudices, preconceived attitudes, apathies, and ignorance of the several publics whose cooperation is essential.

What are these several publics? They differ for every type of client. They vary in numbers from client to client. They increase as the scope of objectives increases. They decrease in numbers as the goals are more restricted.

An example of the widest variety of publics that has to be taken into account to attain a goal is afforded by a nationwide political campaign on behalf of a party. Support must be rallied from many diverse groups—labor, industry, the farmer, the miner, teachers, students, fisher-

men, foresters—the list is endless. And not only must appeal be made to these segments of the broad general public but also to what we may call the intra-party publics—the county, city, and state organizations, the followers of one faction of the party as distinct from those of another, etc., etc.

Or, on another level, let us take some of the publics that must be considered by a large American industrial organization if it is to define its objectives in a realistic manner. There are the stockholders whose primary interest is safety of invested capital and adequate profits reflected in dividends. There are the workers who desire security, status, and good take-home pay. There is the sales force, whose members view the company's product from the viewpoint of its sales-aid qualities. There are the research engineers whose primary interest is quality. There is the jobber, the wholesaler, the retailer, whose interest is in a sufficient margin of profit and company aid in merchandising. There are the suppliers whose interest is to increase the sale of their products to the company. There are the bankers whose interest is the balance sheet. There is the great general consuming public—of which incidentally, all these others form a part. That public wants a good product, priced as low as possible; it is exposed, moreover, to the pressures of competitor salesmanship, given to whims and fancies—and it frequently seems to be quite unpredictable.

Or take a third example—the talented entertainer wishing to achieve greater public recognition. Here the varying publics would include producers, script writers, musicians, night club and theatre owners or lessees,

"about the town columnists," the segments of the general public to which the entertainer's talents would appeal, and the like.

Now, since all these publics usually have somewhat conflicting interests, it is obvious that any realizable objective usually has to be a compromise. Just how much of a compromise depends on circumstances peculiar to each case.

Also, since all these publics are composed of human beings, their members are subject to all the crotchets of human nature—perversity, unwarranted prejudice, imperviousness to reason, fickleness, inertia, and many others. Likewise, being human, they are subject to the great basic emotions of love, fear, hate, sex, and hunger.

All of these factors must be taken into account in formulating realistic objectives—just as they must be allowed for in devising strategy and tactics to negate or intensify existing attitudes and create new attitudes and actions.

The setting of objectives must also be undertaken in the light of generally prevailing public opinion on broad economic and sociological trends, as exemplified by government action, current folkways, and philosophical convictions. Examples of such patterns of general thought that must be borne in mind are attitudes towards education, taxes, individual freedom, individual economic security, and profit sharing. Public attitudes toward these and a host of similar socio-economic problems vary from time to time and, in some degree, from geographical section to geographical section. Woe be to the planner who does not take such variations and shifts in attitude pat-

terns into account. It is on the rock of that error that many a political party has foundered. Likewise many a once famous business house has disappeared because of its failure to recognize new currents of thought and action and adapt accordingly.

One of the occupational hazards of public relations counsel is the nervous wear and tear incident to combatting the client's instinctive dislike of laying out a long-term pattern of achievement, marked by subsidiary objectives along the way—all to be attained in orderly fashion by carrying through a carefully thought out, integrated plan of action. Human nature seems to prefer to rely on instinct and improvisation, on hunch and insight, as needs arise and circumstances warrant. The phrase, "We'll cross that bridge when we come to it," is very old. It also expresses a great truth of human nature. This reaction is a great hazard when it comes to actually sitting down and formulating just exactly what you want at any particular stage of the game.

Another hazard to laying out objectives correctly—whether they are major or minor—is the human tendency to jump at conclusions, or to make unfounded assumptions, or to believe that things once true always remain so.

For example, since stenographers are always complaining of snagging nylon hosiery, a cotton manufacturer might logically conclude that, because cotton snags less easily than nylon he has a great field for cotton stockings for office wear. Unfortunately for him, he has failed to take into account women's vanity. Or you might assume that, because someone is a speaker of hypnotic power within a small group, he would be equally compelling

before a big audience—whereas his personality is lost in the great reaches of an auditorium. Or, as has happened many times in the theatre, a great hit of other years has been revived only to show that what once seemed funny no longer has point, or that what was once highly dramatic (like the final door slam of Ibsen's—*Doll's House*) is now merely quaint or unexciting.

In certain cases, time limitations play a great part in setting or limiting objectives for public relations activity. A fund raising campaign is an example. The promotional build-up for any definitely scheduled local event is another. In all such cases the time limit imposes a definite simplification of objectives—a hewing to the most direct line. Generally speaking, the shorter the time element allowed the simpler your immediate objectives should be. This is so because the rate of idea absorption by the public varies directly with the complexity and variety-pattern of the concepts beamed to it. The problem, let us say, is to sell war bonds, and the government needs the money in two months' time. Your immediate objective will be to associate war bond buying in every possible way with patriotism rather than to try to educate the public to the advantages of bonds over stocks as conservative investments. This is sound because the concept of patriotic action is an almost instinctive reflex, whereas financial education is a long and wearisome affair.

The reverse pattern is also true, of course: instances in which the objective must dictate the time schedule. If the objective is one that can only be achieved over the long term, then obviously the whole campaign will have to be predicated on that fact. A campaign to educate the

American people to a realistic attitude towards the atom bomb would be such a project. The long-term objective would be the inculcation of realistic attitudes untinged by hysteria, yet predicated on an awareness of the need for constant vigilance and proper protective action.

The magnitude of the atom-education problem would indicate the necessity of subdividing the objective into immediate, intermediate, and long-term phases. The immediate objective would be to teach what to do in case of an attack. The intermediate objective might be to create general understanding of the proper relationship of atomic weapons to other means of offense and defense. The long-term objective would be to create a climate of opinion which would place the whole atomic problem in proper perspective relative to the other hazards and potential benefits of existence.

Another fact that should be kept in mind when formulating objectives is that they must make sense in relation to the money, effort, and personnel available to pursue them. It is not necessary that all of these elements be in perfect balance. We all know of instances when unlimited effort and devotion to a cause have triumphed over seemingly insuperable obstacles. But in such instances the superabundance of dedicated effort has simply offset the deficit in other resources. Generally speaking, however, and particularly in the realm of industrial public relations, objectives, if realizable, must be cut to the limited budget available and to the personnel whose activities can be devoted to furthering the public relations effort.

Because the cloth must be cut to fit the pattern, it is

extremely important that the public relations counsel be perfectly frank with the client in pointing out the presumed amount of money, time, and effort that will be required to accomplish a particular objective. If the client states that they cannot be made available in that degree, then it is counsel's duty to try and bring about such modification of objectives as will fit into the existing pattern. Failing to bring about such modification, the reputable public relations counsel has no alternative in the circumstances but to withdraw gracefully from the picture. Any other procedure would be unfair to himself, unfair to the profession, and unfair to the client.

Up to this point we have been discussing the necessity of objectives and some of the limitations that must be imposed thereon. We have noted that objectives are necessary to the avoidance of waste of time, money, and effort. We have pointed out that unless they are practical objectives they are worse than useless. We have mentioned how formulating objectives helps keep public relations effort down to earth. The necessity of taking into consideration the varying publics, their motivations, reactions, and prior concepts has been considered. The place of the over-all pattern of public opinion at a given time and a given area has been discussed. Various mental hazards which confront the client himself have been touched upon. The roles of available time, money, and effort in limiting objectives have been set forth.

Now let us consider for a few moments some practical methods for arriving at practical objectives.

The first great need is to find some means of achieving the state which the poet Burns described when he

wrote, "Oh wad some power the giftie gie us to see oursels as others see us!"

The gift of correct self-analysis is not very common, either in individuals or in corporate bodies. What is obviously needed is outside aid to achieve proper perspective. One of the important phases of public relations counselling consists in providing just such an outside point of view and opinion. But consultation and discussion should not be limited to counsel-client interchange of opinion and point of view. Rather, one of the great services of counsel will be to point out to the client the various sources of information which can be most helpful to him in arriving at a proper decision on his aims and objectives.

The methodology and techniques of research are treated in comprehensive fashion in a separate chapter of this book. However, some reference to its particular uses in formulating objectives is pertinent here.

Sources of valuable information vary all the way from extended discussion at directors' meetings, with the public relations counsel present, to a sampling of community opinion regarding the client or his activities—such sampling being done by an independent opinion-research organization without ostensible relation to the client. Or the public relations counsel, upon client authorization, may discuss the over-all situation with knowledgeable experts in the same field of interest as the client's—trade association officials, for example. Again, if the problem is to launch a new product, a prior consumer survey may be indicated before any set plan of campaign is outlined.

In many cases a study of existing writings will prove well worth the client's time. Or he can authorize his public relations counsel to abstract them for him. Such writings will often indicate what others have done on other occasions when faced with the same or related problems, and what the results were. There may also be available social science reports indicating what study of the human mind reveals about probable reactions in this particular type of case.

After all available and pertinent opinion has been obtained, what then? Can objectives be set forth immediately upon a first perusal of all these fact and opinion findings? Usually not—though in some of the simpler cases it may be possible.

Generally, final decision on objectives must await correct evaluation of the mass of informed opinion and uninhibited theorizing which the research has dredged up. It will be necessary to separate the edible from the inedible fish. It is necessary to evaluate the source of information relative to its importance within a particular public. It is necessary to balance opinion from one source against contrary opinion from an approximately similar background. It is necessary to consider what presumed personal or group ax each informant has to grind, and what part it may have played, either consciously or subconsciously, in forming his opinion. It is necessary to consider what opportunity the informant has had to consider all angles of the situation on which he comments—in short, from what angle he and his group view the total picture.

However, in the final analysis, after all the evidence

pro and con is in, the client or his representatives must decide on just what the objectives are going to be, and what order of importance shall be given them.

The key to success at this stage is the exercise of common sense, supplemented by imagination. Previous experience will be a great aid—whether it is personal or the observed experience of others. And at no time is the client-counsel relationship more fruitful of good results than at this point, provided it is properly utilized.

When objectives are finally set forth, they should express realizable goals predicated on the synthesized experience of the client and his public relations counsel.

The client, no matter what his problem, represents the body of practical knowledge peculiar to his field. The public relations counsel symbolizes those specialized skills in communications and group-adjustment which can be brought to bear on the client's problem. Each is necessary to the other. Each has much of value to give the other. Neither can function efficiently without the other.

Frank and free discussion between the two—client and public relations counsel—should hammer out practical objectives in the most expeditious fashion. Naturally, mutual confidence in each other's competence and judgment is essential to the discussion's success. But if there is not already that confidence, then either the client should have a different counsel or the counsel a different client.

At the risk of a little repetition, what are some of the criteria that should be considered in finally settling upon specific goals? We are taking for granted that the

proposed goal is "practical" in the sense of its being possible of accomplishment. Perhaps the best method of illustration will be to take a hypothetical case and consider some of the angles. Let us suppose that an old-line manufacturing concern of solid reputation is being sold to new interests. These interests are debating when, in the interest of efficiency, to scrap certain plants, consolidate others, and discontinue certain product manufacture while starting up a new line in which they have every confidence. When purchase negotiations begin, the new management has every intention of effecting all these changes as quickly and as simultaneously as is humanly possible after purchase. However, as negotiations proceed, some second thoughts begin to appear. The question of timing begins to be debated within the inner circle. There arise conflicts of opinion, which clearly show that the new management is not entirely united on what the primary objectives should be. Some hold forth for the virtue of operating efficiency over all. Others stress the great value of the company reputation which is being acquired and the folly of jeopardizing it unnecessarily by so many simultaneous moves, which, taken together, may be likened to housewrecking. Some bring up the matter of company obligations to the plant communities. Others feel the duty to stockholders to be paramount. At last, however, the directors vote to forego making changes immediately upon purchase, but instead to effect them somewhat gradually. Nevertheless, they want all changes accomplished as soon as conveniently possible without upsetting their publics.

At this point counsel on public relations is called in to advise on the best method and techniques for announc-

ing company purchase and future policy. In view of the fact that company success is ultimately dependent on public good will, it is unfortunate that public relations counsel has not been given an opportunity to express itself earlier at the topmost policy level. But the situation is not atypical in this respect.

Of course, the client desires that public relations counsel make everybody concerned happy—stockholders, bankers, labor, consumers, purveyors, wholesalers, jobbers, what have you. It is a large order. It almost always is.

The first thing public relations counsel has to emphasize is that no wizardry of words is going to accomplish the miracle. The worker who reads that his home factory is ultimately to be dismantled will not take comfort in a vague general statement that the company will do all possible to place former employees in new positions. The consumer wedded to the old company's product by fifty years of use cannot be counted on to buy the new one in preference to a rival product when his old stand-by disappears.

Deeds explained by words—not words alone—must be the basis of any successful public relations activity.

Therefore, whatever the initial announcements say, it will be the company's long-term record of action that ultimately determines public support or dissatisfaction.

Obviously, the initial announcement cannot be long delayed, lest all sorts of damaging rumors gain currency. So initial public relations advice is to issue it immediately, keeping it as short as possible, and emphasizing that no immediate drastic changes are contemplated. The statement will, however, make clear that a program of orderly

modernization in all phases of company activity will be undertaken after careful study of all elements of the situation, so as to safeguard the interests of labor, stockholders, community interests, and so on. The announcement will conclude with a statement to the effect that details of specific modernization activities will be announced in advance from time to time. Emphasis will be placed on the fact that all company objectives will look toward building soundly for the new upon the foundations of the old—conserving and creating at the same time.

This announcement is only a necessary stopgap measure to minimize rumor insofar as possible. No one can expect it to stop rumor entirely.

The real work, to be initiated at once, is to bring about a clarification of objectives through the techniques previously touched upon in this chapter, and to determine which are to be considered immediate, which intermediate, and which long term.

When discussing the general approach to setting up objectives, we noted the importance of information research. Here, let us see how it would relate to the particular problems faced by the new plant owners. Since we approach the over-all field of another chapter, we will concern ourselves here only with its specific application to a specific situation.

Some of the many types of information needed in this instance are enumerated below. The list is, however, far from inclusive. Additional pertinent subjects of inquiry will suggest themselves to every reader. Naturally, some of the information will already have been gathered and will need only to be reviewed and supplemented.

Comprehensive data on types and numbers of employees whose jobs will be eliminated under consolidation, together with reliable findings on ease and possibility of training them for other jobs in the company's new setup.

Detailed information about what other companies have done in similar circumstances to safeguard interests of employees who cannot be retained or who do not wish to move to other localities.

Studies of the impact each particular plant closing or expansion will have upon the economic life of the individual plant community.

Opinion sampling studies of present plant-community attitudes towards the company at various socio-economic levels.

Information about the most efficient methods of conducting employee new-job training.

Consumer surveys to determine what is particularly liked about the products which it is contemplated dropping.

Market-research data indicating what has been the previous experience sales-wise in the period immediately following the dropping of one product and the launching of a new one.

Similar type market data when the new product is launched before the old one is dropped.

Estimates of the type and variety of consumer markets that can be expected for the new product and which ones, if any, will presumably be lost with the discontinuance of the old line.

Cross-section stockholder surveys to get a clear pic-

ture of just what kinds of people and in what relative proportions participate in company ownership.

Expert estimates of the comparative savings to be expected cost-wise from each step of the consolidation and modernization program, together with similar comparative data related to increased production volume.

Managerial and financial-world estimates of the probable earnings and dividend picture when the new plans are carried out.

Wholesaler-jobber-retailer statements of what is hoped for under new management direction—what these groups liked and disliked about the previous setup.

Dispassionate survey of opinion in financial and trade circles about the personalities, potentialities, and presumed performance of the new management.

As we have previously noted, this and a multitude of additional pertinent data can be gathered from many different sources.

Unquestionably, there will be much (and often heated) discussion of the validity of any particular piece of factual information. And even hotter debate over some of the opinion findings. However, within each category of data, a recognizable pattern will usually emerge representing majority and minority opinion, and rather clearly marking areas of support and opposition that may be expected in relation to the attainment of any particular objective.

The time is now at hand for really setting up definite objectives to aim for all along the way. The company management knows what it would like to do, is going to

do—modernize, consolidate, and re-energize an old prestige company. It thinks it knows some of the principal steps it will take thereto—among them, dropping an old product and launching a new. There is now available for company management study a wealth of information—factual and opinion—which can provide it with a pretty clear picture of just what opposition and support can be expected at each step of the modernization program. Management can estimate what positive actions may be expected to minimize unfavorable reaction or intensify favorable support. It has a basis for judging the gains vs. the losses to be expected at each step. It can figure out what is presumably the optimum time table of change and the best order in which to effect such change.

The problem now is to balance one factor against the other—to decide whether this expected gain more than offsets that resultant loss. Management and public relations counsel together can decide whether a given action should be taken before or after another in order to minimize ill will or capitalize on good-will potentials.

Particularly for good-will potentials, the dispassionate view of public relations counsel can be invaluable. He is, after all, trained to estimate psychological reaction and to foresee the probable emotional response of publics to various types of stimuli. To disregard the benefit of his thinking at this stage of objective-defining would be for management to waste one of its best resources.

So we will assume that management and public relations counsel have sat down together around the conference table through many hours of concentrated discussion. What emerges therefrom?

If the conferences have been successful, a formal set of company objectives will have been drawn up, covering the immediate, intermediate, and long-range positions of the company. They will have been reduced to writing for several reasons. One reason is that by such action much future misunderstanding and dimming of recollection can be avoided. Second, once written down, a statement of objectives constitutes easy reference for each and every company official and department head who may ultimately be concerned with its implementation. Third, objectives can, in this form, be used as needed by individual company representatives to substantiate their statements of company position when carrying on negotiations with outside interested parties.

In the case of this particular hypothetical company, the statement of objectives might follow in part somewhat along this skeletal outline.

Long-term over-all objectives:

(A) Increase benefits to owners, workers, consumers, and communities where company operates, through a program of modernization both of plant and of product. Benefits to be expressed in such tangibles as: stable employment, increased earnings reflected in a reasonable profit, ultimate plant expansion, a better product at lowest possible cost.

(B) Maintain friendly relations at all times with all whose interests are allied with the company—unions, consumers, community citizens, labor force, sales outlets, purveyors, etc.

Intermediate objectives:

(A) Launch new products at earliest date consistent with completion of adequate testing, establishment of merchandising channels and procedures, and preparation of an adequate promotion campaign.

(B) Improve existing brand products of former management. (Study of all the background data had convinced management that "there was life in the old product yet," and that sound policy in this instance dictated reconsideration of original intention to scrap.)

(C) Launch program for installation of most up-to-date machinery, streamlining of office procedures, increase of merchandising outlets, and revamping of product distribution systems.

(D) Deactivate super-antiquated plants which cannot be economically rehabilitated, or which are located uneconomically relative to over-all company operation and distribution. Such elimination and consolidation of activity not to be undertaken, however, until suitable steps have been taken to minimize economic dislocations, either to the individual worker or to the community.

Immediate objectives:

(A) Labor:

(1) Maintain frank and friendly relations with union leaders at all times, inviting their suggestions and co-operation in solving all problems relating to labor changes, job education, severance policies.

(2) Initiate immediately an extensive, well-integrated program of new-job training on company

time for benefit of those workers whose present activities will ultimately be discontinued.

(3) Establish a just, fair, and adequate system of severance benefits, retirement allotments, etc., for employees who cannot be retained or who find themselves unable to take new company positions elsewhere.

(4) Work out really effective program of new employment placement for those who cannot be retained—such program to include working with top management of other industries in locality to open up positions, co-operation with local chambers of commerce to bring in new industry, etc.

(5) Keep confidence of labor forces, and to this end take them into full company confidence as any steps are resolved upon directly affecting their interests.

(6) Make certain that wages and other work benefits are at all times in line with or better than industry average, and that all divisions of the company are treated uniformly in this respect.

(B) Community relations:

(1) Obtain co-operation of plant-town officials and citizens at large in implementing all activities looking toward cushioning impact of labor or plant changes.

(2) Gain community respect and confidence by adequate advance local notice of all impending changes, together with complete explanation of all

reasons therefor and steps being taken to insure stability of local economy.

(3) Seek to align company with all forward-looking movements within the community through adequate financial and moral support.

(C) Stockholders:

Maintain cordial stockholder relations—and to this end keep them at all times fully informed of company plans and projects, together with the reasons therefor and the expected effects beneficial to them in terms of security of investment and adequate return on capital.

(D) Sales and Distribution System:

(1) An intensified sales training program.

(2) Immediate installation of a better integrated distribution system.

(3) Expansion of wholesaler-distributor setup.

(4) Launch new aggressive advertising campaign in all media.

(E) Product Research:

Insure most progressive research development within the company by bigger budgets, added inducements to attract highest calibre personnel, and recognition of individual achievement not only in terms of money but in professional standing.

(F) Manufacturing:

Work out detailed plans within a six-month

period after company purchase for all steps of physical modernization and consolidation, including time table for effectuating same based on the over-all company policy of minimizing economic dislocation and insuring optimum benefits from the change-over.

(G) Public relations:

(1) Establish a public relations program of sufficient size and scope to insure that all segments of the company's public—workers, stockholders, community citizens, dealer-distributor systems, bankers, consumers, purveyors, etc.—are kept fully informed about company policy and practices.

(2) Make certain that the public relations department realizes that its primary function can be likened to a two-way street—it not only must interpret the company to the public, but it must also interpret the several publics to the company.

Such might be the "Statement of Objectives" drawn up and approved by the management of our hypothetical company.

The proper use of public relations techniques to help to achieve objectives is discussed elsewhere in this book. However, one point of this skeletal outline, which reflects a basic over-all public relations technique, should be emphasized here. Each objective expresses the positive, as distinct from the negative, approach. Offensive, not defensive, action is implicit.

All down the line in public relations, starting with

objectives, the basic point of view is to blanket the opposition, to put it on the defensive, and create for yourself a position of affirmative leadership.

Another point to be borne in mind concerning objectives is that they should never be considered immutable, like the laws of the Medes and the Persians. Even long-term over-all objectives, though they represent basic thinking and are presumed to have long-term validity, should be reviewed with some regularity. There should be no hesitancy in modifying, or even discarding, a particular policy objective if its frame of reference becomes obsolete. As noted earlier, a bull-headed determination to drive forward regardless can sometimes be self-defeating.

This necessity for periodic review and modification becomes even more apparent as we proceed downwards from the long-term to the intermediate and thence to the immediate objectives. The more highly specific and immediately action-related the objective, the more liable it is to be affected by day-to-day events, and by fluctuating public-opinion patterns.

This brings us to a final aspect of objectives not hitherto discussed. Very early in this chapter, I mentioned that *at each and every step of planning* the questions should be asked "What do I want to accomplish? Why do I do this rather than something else?" Note the emphasis on "every step." Accurate definition of objectives should not be confined solely to policy-level thinking. It should not cease even after patterns of implementing activity have been set, such as our mythical company's decision to set up a public relations department, and to expand the wholesaler-distributor setup. The same approach should govern every activity carried out by that public relations department, or undertaken by the sales manager and his assistants in setting up new distributor outlets.

Strategy and tactics each form the subject of complete chapters in this book. But in the formulation of the one and the execution of the other, each presupposes an objective. And the existence of such an objective, if realistic, depends on someone's having asked and answered these same two questions, "What do I want to accomplish? Why do I do this rather than something else?"

For example, if the public relations department wishes to publicize some aspect of company research, it will have to set up several objectives, each in turn. One objective will be to make certain it tries to reach the right publics, whether stockholders, scientists, company employees, the general public—or some combination of all, or others not enumerated. Then, having decided on its target publics, it must seek to ascertain the most effective method for reaching them—a release to science writers, or a pamphlet, or a dividend mailing insert, or a planned event such as an announcement dinner or luncheon covered by the press. Supposing that decision is for a planned event, then objectives will have to be set in terms of desired speakers, desired speech angling, desired audience, etc. After the event, further objectives may be set up in terms of practical methods of capitalizing on the event, such as speech reprints, distribution to selected lists, etc. The setting up of objectives should be a never-ending process.

The sales manager of our mythical company will also need to establish a whole series of these subsidiary objectives in order to carry out his mission. For example, he will have such goals as these: establishing distributor territories sufficiently large to provide good business to the distributor, but not so large as to make for sketchy coverage of potential markets; setting a discount policy fair alike to all concerned; designing a sales record system adequate for company needs; devising adequate incentive awards; and so on.

And note how, for each of them—the public relations man and the sales manager—those two questions should repeat themselves at every turn. "What do I want to accomplish? Why do I do this rather than something else?"

Which of the two questions is the more important, it would be hard to say. They are complementary and inseparable. However, the second one is perhaps the more often neglected. It is very easy, upon thinking of some possible immediate objective, to stop there. It is much harder to figure out alternatives and then select from the several possibilities those which give the greatest promise of success. Yet, in setting up the subsidiary, day-to-day objectives which constitute the buoys along the channel, this selection through elimination is the way to insure that channel markings are accurate and will serve as reliable points by which to chart your course of activity.

In closing let me restate a few of the principal points briefly. Objectives should be set up in advance of any activity. They should be precise. They should be practical. Defining objectives should be a continuous process

all up and down the line, from basic policy to day-to-day activity. Objectives must take into consideration the prejudices, preconceptions, apathies, and inclinations of the various publics that are to be influenced. A realistic objective usually represents a compromise of viewpoint and interest. Prevailing economic and sociological thought patterns must be taken into account. Objectives should cover the long-term as well as the short-term action program. One must avoid jumping to conclusions or making unfounded assumptions. The realities of time, money, and personnel available must be considered. Research should play an important part. The background knowledge of the client and the skills of the public relations counsel should both be brought to bear on the problem. Objectives should be positive, not negative—they should be modified as changing needs and conditions dictate.

It is, of course, impossible to cover every conceivable angle of "objectives" in a single chapter. Furthermore, every man's problem presents aspects peculiar to itself. Nevertheless, experience shows that the basic pattern here set forth is adaptable to the most varied problems. By adhering to the principles outlined, the likelihood of our carrying forward purposeful activity with a minimum of waste effort is greatly increased.

Research

Sherwood Dodge

THIS DISCUSSION OF RESEARCH is addressed to its users or potential users, primarily in the business community.

Its thesis attempts to point the way toward a more useful integration of present marketing and opinion research techniques with the technique of management and decision-making.

For some time I have felt that if all technical development in public opinion or marketing research were held to a standstill, substantial advances could still be made in the utility of research by a better understanding on the part of management of its role in the process of making decisions. Academicians, who have sallied forth into applied research, will probably be the first to understand that no disrepect to them is implied in this thesis.

Let us consider, first, the "research point of view," in an effort to take research out of the technical otherworld and relate it to the commonplace problem-solving mechanisms within our own nervous systems.

Then we must think about problems themselves; how they can be formulated most usefully, and how they may be organized in respect to both public opinion and marketing research.

A following section will discuss some key concepts in public opinion research which should be useful not only to those who need formal research facilities, but also to those who undertake their own collection and evaluation of data.

We can then discuss standards of research in an effort to set forth some ways of telling a good research job from a poor one.

And finally, we will turn to research operations, with emphasis on how to get a research project started, even with limited budget facilities.

At the outset, I think we should recognize that there are almost always two consents we are trying to engineer. Most of us make our public relations or marketing plans as part of a group, involving associates and counsel or client. So the first consent we must engineer is our own. We must agree upon our plans—the objectives, the methods, and the expected results—for engineering the consent of others. Here research has an important part to play in the technique of agreement.

Seen this way, research might be called part of the technique of engineering decisions, or of increasing the probability that they are sound. Since we generally work in groups, exchange views, and reach agreement and consent for a course of action, research in some form provides the facts and interpretation which ultimately becomes a

basis for agreement. It is necessary to use the term "research" in its broadest sense here. Soon it will be apparent why.

First, let us recognize that there are several common uses of the term "research". It might refer to a research report. Or it might refer to a research department, or organization. But as the term is used here, it refers to a form of human behavior involving the collection and interpretation of data.

To the degree that you are a lively, intelligent, objective, problem-solving person, you are a researcher, and always have been. Research is part of your problem-solving equipment. What you call your experience is the sum total of the data you have collected, and the interpretation you have placed upon it.

Your life has been a continuum of problem-solving since the cradle, and in learning (whether consciously or not) you have moved from hypothesis-to-verification, to improved hypothesis-to-verification, etc., in a way similar to, though probably less self-conscious than, that of the laboratory scientist.

So having established everybody as a researcher of more or less talent and experience, it seems inappropriate to look upon research as something separate and distinct from one's normal activities. And however formidable the research report at hand, leather-bound and replete with tabulations, it can never function more effectively for you than an extension of the problem-solving equipment you have been developing since infancy.

Yet one is likely to hear executives speak as if research and judgment are in constant quarrel. Or that

"research can never replace judgment." But, in my opinion, inquiry never competes with judgment, any more than reading competes with understanding. Both are necessary whether you do the inquiring or others inquire for you.

It is quite possible that in respect to a given problem you have such experience that further research is not so necessary for you as for a less experienced colleague. But it is my observation that the better a man's problem-solving equipment, the better he is able to utilize organized research as an extension of it. And also, the less he is likely to be hoodwinked by poor or inadequately formulated field research.

Sometimes severe penalties are paid by management people who detach research from their own problem-solving activities. I have mentioned the man who looks upon "research" and "judgment" as if they were in constant warfare.

We have a joke about the inhibitions this point of view produces. When presented with research, such a man will say, "It is not true." When it is indisputably proved that it is true, he will say, "It is not useful." And when it has been indisputably proved that it is useful, he will say, "This has long been known."

And even more severe penalties are imposed upon the executive who becomes over-dependent upon research. One sees it occur most frequently in large organizations where a research report becomes a hiding place for the man who has made a bad decision. It becomes both excuse and justification to his management. He was deceived.

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On the other hand, were the course of action successful, we would hear much about his acumen and very little about the research report.

Both the over-acceptance and over-rejection of research are business pathologies, fairly commonly observed. The healthy question for management to ask is, "What are the conditions under which research can be useful to us in making better decisions?"

To summarize these points, so that we may continue from a common point of view: Formal research in public relations is not basically different in kind from the problem-solving activities you have had to exercise all your life, but different only in degree. It is not something separate from decision-making, but part of the process, whether you use the accumulated research inside your nervous system which you call experience, or whether you or your researcher go into the field to inquire and evaluate.

What obscures this simple fact is the maze of technical language which specialization has required, as methods of formal inquiry have become more highly developed. This has also happened in other fields. In very much the same way we sometimes sense too wide a gap between our notions of simple justice and the techniques of litigation.

But some research terminology can be made clear, and should be, because behind the language lie important and common-sense concepts which have a bearing on better decision-making, even if you never use any research except your own. We will discuss these later.

First, let me turn to the beginning of all problem-solving activity, which is the statement of the problem itself.

The problem

In a broad sense, problems are dynamic and continuous, which is why there is not even a theoretical limit to learning. We move from higher levels of knowledge and understanding to yet higher levels. Therefore, if research is part of your problem-solving activity, and not something separate from life, it is in varying degrees of intensity a continuing process and not an isolated "job."

Organized public opinion research is always used more successfully as an integral part of a sustained program of planning, rather than as a "one-shot" device to meet an emergency.

There is a parallel in laboratory research. Funds are allocated on a program basis, over a sustained period of time.

A product research program is an integral part of the structure of many of our large corporations. And many of these same corporations are employing public opinion research as part of a program, rather than as a sporadic effort.

Problems and learning not only have continuity, but they occur on different levels. For instance, your first survey course in history may have embraced events since the dawn of time. As you added knowledge, you acquired focus; and the lines of inquiry and learning became more sharply drawn. Segments of the problem were studied more intensively. I once heard of a girl who wrote her master's thesis in art history on the "Counter Clockwise Whorls on Sung Dynasty Tortoises," which is a highly focused area of inquiry, to say the least.

One of the most wasteful practices in utilizing re-

search is a failure to understand the level on which a problem occurs. As a result, vast efforts are made to produce information which "everybody knew before"; or else highly focused efforts are made under the false assumption that the broad picture is well known—and these generally produce results which are called incomplete, irrelevant, or misleading.

An understanding of the problem to be solved is without doubt the most difficult part of organized research. And efficiency is gained, and costs and time reduced, if agreement is reached not only on the nature of the problem, but also on its depth. Normally, we know enough not to research world transportation schedules to cross town on a bus. On the other hand we have no need to psychoanalyze the driver before we feel reasonably safe in his hands.

There is a simple test for the "proper" level which makes for a useful tool for management or decision-makers who use public opinion research.

Make an estimate of the possible outcome of a key question or point. Then ask yourself how this outcome would influence your decision if it proved correct, and how differently you would act if it were incorrect. This is the test of "actionability." It is a question which should be answered by you before any research proposal receives your approval.

Perhaps the only instance when this test can not be applied is when you find all your information in respect to a general problem is so small or incomplete that research has to begin from scratch. Otherwise, you should have enough information to construct a hypothesis or

"hunch" which will determine your choice of decisions. And the primary purpose of research is to verify or refute a hunch. In either case, research is related to action before the results are known.

So far we have been discussing the levels on which a problem occurs—call them wide- and sharp-focus problems—and of how important it is to relate a hypothesis or hunch to a future course of action. This kind of forethought will help avoid the commonplace error caused in a time of confusion or panic by an unformulated problem. The research man is hastily called in and instructed to "make a survey." Unless your research man is also expected to formulate your problem for you, you are doomed to disappointment.

As a practical matter, so few managers are expert in formulating problems that the ablest marketing and opinion experts owe more to their ability to define a problem than to their technical facility in conducting the inquiry. One independent researcher tells me he spends a large part of his time, after reformulating a problem, explaining why research may be unnecessary.

A closely related point is the need to distinguish between difficult problems and important problems. These are not necessarily the same. It would probably be quite difficult for research to determine, for a given publicity picture or advertisement, whether it would be better to have the person looking at the reader, or looking at a companion in the picture. But if the caption, text and illustration are well integrated, clear, and forceful, the question is probably not very important.

The distinction between what is important and what

is merely difficult was put more succinctly by Boswell in his *London Journal*, when he describes one of his early meetings with Dr. Johnson:

> We talked of the education of children and what was best to teach them first. "Sir," said he, "there is no matter what you teach them first, any more than what leg you shall put into your breeches first. Sir, you may stand disputing which is best to put in first, but in the meantime your backside is bare. Sir, while you are considering which of two things you should teach your child first, another boy has learnt' em both!"

Most good research is too expensive to use unless you have a strong feeling that its findings will help determine an important decision. On the other hand, millions are often spent on important decisions with little or no research to test or verify the assumptions of management.

Let me return to the point that the responsibility for formulating the problem is largely your own.

I know many management men who have become thoroughly disenchanted by their research experiences. Some were justified. But some of the greatest disappointments came from work of impeccable design and execution. The findings were "right," but either too generalized or irrelevant. In most of these instances, I strongly suspect that the burden of formulating the problem fell on the research technician.

This is an important fallacy to expose, because if opinion or market research is only an extension of your own problem-solving equipment, it is essential that you take all pains to state the problem you have in terms of the decisions you have to make. To this extent your job

is non-delegable. It is difficult enough for the research expert to conduct skillful and honest research without asking him to be a mind reader, too.

You have the experience; he has the facility. Experience alone won't solve the problem, or else you wouldn't have called in the researcher. But facility alone, without benefit of your experience, is enormously handicapped, and may approach the problem on a level frequently too diffused and broad-focused to produce useful results for you.

The premise has been set forth that research is a problem-solving activity, whether you or others conduct the inquiry; but that if others conduct it, the formulation of the problem is non-delegable if research is to be most useful to you.

Now we can attempt a systematic organization of the kinds of problems which regularly arise in the engineering of consent.

To do this we must borrow from the marketing field, mainly because organized research is much more highly developed here than in the broad field of public relations. For better or for worse, many more millions are spent in engineering consent for products than in creating favorable attitudes toward the companies which make them, or in influencing opinion in respect to either personalities or policies. As a consequence, one might expect a more consistent and highly developed use of research where activity to influence opinion is the most intense.

While marketing is properly concerned with the distribution of products, public relations concerns itself with

the distribution of ideas which may or may not include products. Yet the parallels are close enough, I think, so that the structure of problems in one field may lend itself to the other.

This reasoning may gain force from the following illustration:

One of the most commonly stated problems in marketing is that of "increasing one's share of market." If I am selling tooth paste and my brand enjoys 5 per cent of the national volume, one of my problems is very likely to be how to increase it to 6 or 7 per cent next year. Part of my strategy in reaching this goal will involve advertising, with which I will attempt to stimulate buying behavior by creating more favorable attitudes toward my product.

Several years ago a well-known public opinion researcher, Cornelius Dubois, introduced a concept which he called "Share of Mind." He reasoned that a product's share of market was to a large degree dependent upon its relative standing compared to the other brands in the opinion of potential customers. He then developed a continuing research technique which would measure "the flow of goods through people's heads," from which it was possible to determine changes in opinion formation, which in turn would permit a greater degree of predictability concerning whether a brand was likely to increase or decrease in share of market.

As an example, let us suppose that at the beginning of the year 5 per cent of the people thought my brand was "the best," 10 per cent thought it "one of the best," 60 per cent just "average," 10 per cent "below average," and the remainder had no opinion.

At the end of the year 10 per cent thought it "the best," 20 per cent "one of the best," 50 per cent just "average," 5 per cent "below average," and the remainder had no opinion.

The presumption here is that I have succeeded in increasing my "share of mind," and as a consequence may predict an increase (though not a corresponding increase) in my share of market.

As any opinion specialist knows, many ideas compete for "share of mind" apart from product-ideas, and it is at this point that one sees a natural bridge between the structure of problems in marketing research and public opinion research.

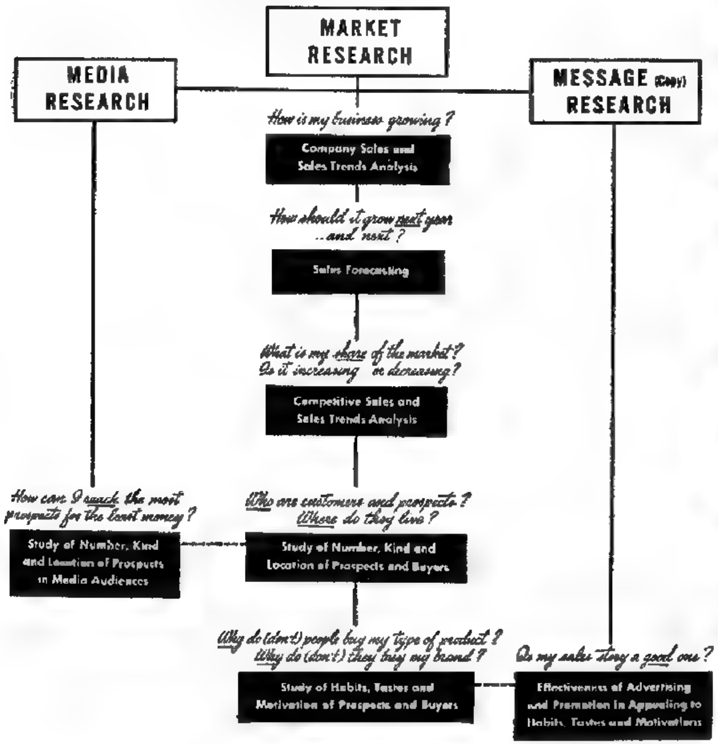
The chart on the next page was developed to show our clients how the facilities of marketing research could relate to the everyday problems of business. As you will see, much of the chart is oriented to product sales. But much of it is equally applicable to engineering consent for ideas in any area.

Broadly speaking, most public opinion problems occur in one of three areas: in respect to the people you wish to reach; the media of communication you use to reach them; and the message that you wish to communicate.

If we were to revise this chart for public opinion purposes only, we might label the center box "People" Research.

Behavior in respect to goods is always accomplished by the flow of money, which forms an automatic measurement of the health of a business in relation to its immediate selling effort. For most public relations activities, there

THE ORGANIZATION OF MARKET RESEARCH



is no equivalent for the cash register or sales records to measure effectiveness. In other words, there is no need to "research" how much money you are making, apart from the examination of your records.

On the other hand, to the degree that a business or cause is affected by its public relations, a provision has to be made for systematic gathering of information from the public, or "publics," most likely to affect it.

So following this line of reasoning, the questions in the vertical center column of the chart which we have now labeled "People" Research, might read as follows:

1. What is the trend of what people are thinking about my business or cause?

2. How should these attitudes develop next year—and next?

3. What is my share of people's "minds," relative to competing attitudes or ideas?

4. Who are the people whose consent I want to engineer? Where do they live?

5. Why do (don't) these people think and act favorably toward me?

Under "Message Research" at the extreme right we might ask, "Is my presentation of myself or my idea the most likely one to obtain consent?"

At the extreme left we must now think much more broadly than merely in respect to the commissionable media of communication open to advertising, and instead think in terms of all possibilities including publicity, promotion, community action programs, etc. Here, the ques-

tion, "How can I reach the most people for the least money?" may startle some public opinion experts, but I see no reason why, as a goal, public relations should not be held as accountable as advertising to efficient operation. Yet, as a researcher, I should think it would be extremely difficult to develop yardsticks in this field.

For instance, we in advertising have not yet been successful in equating the relative efficiency of print and broadcast media. The problem of equating the efficiency of a paid "institutional" advertisement in the *Saturday Evening Post* with a community action program, at our present stage of knowledge, seems nearly insurmountable.

On the other hand, I have dealt enough with publicity men to know that the most usual method of measuring media effectiveness is either the number of releases or the size of the scrapbook. If the purpose of these efforts is to implant information, change attitudes, or effect desired behavior, the volume of press releases or the size of the scrapbook is clearly an inadequate measurement.

Most, if not all, of the problems likely to arise in the engineering of consent should fall within the categories listed above, even though, as knowledge accumulates, the questions will become increasingly refined or highly focused. And for each question there are systems of organized inquiry designed to increase the efficiency of problem-solving.

These are necessarily very general questions—very broad statements of problems—and will call for a very general form of inquiry. The more refined and specific they become, as knowledge accumulates, the more focused the inquiry.

And the more the question takes on the form of a hypothesis, related to alternative courses of action, the more research will operate in the field of maximum utility.

Concepts

We now turn to some key concepts in public opinion research. While the implementation and refinement of these concepts may lead to advanced mathematical statistics, or to technical questions in experimental design, they are fundamentally sensible and need to be understood if the ultimate user is to participate in planning research. And this he must.

The first concept concerns the principle of "sampling." Let me state at the outset that more positive, scientific information is known about this aspect of research than any other. Today it is possible to conduct a sampling of public opinion with positive knowledge beforehand that error, as a result of sample construction, is held to precisely defined limits. If this statement seems inconsistent with highly publicized research errors, as for instance in recent presidential polls, let me state with sureness that, with our present knowledge, no unforeseen error need have been a result of sample design. Sample execution, perhaps. But not sample design.

The theory of sampling probably traces to the dawn of civilization, when goods such as grain or fruit were bartered. The quality of the merchandise was tested at randomly chosen places. In this way the choice fruit, carefully placed at the top of the basket, did not determine the value of the merchandise for sale.

The key concept in sampling has to do with the term

"representativeness." If we can be sure that a sample is representative, then we can determine very precisely the probable error in terms of our sample size. But most of the sins of public opinion research, as it has developed during the past score of years, have arisen because there were certain assumptions made about what makes a sample representative that have been proved untrue in too many cases.

But before examining these errors, let me describe circumstances under which you, yourself, could construct a sample with a known sampling error before you begin.

Suppose you ran a local dairy company with ten thousand home delivery customers whose names and addresses appeared on your billing list. A cereal company has asked you to have your route men deliver a free sample of their cereal to these customers in return for certain considerations. Neither you nor your friends eat cold cereal in the morning, so you wish to determine how many of your customers are daily consumers of cold cereal. It is clear to you that there is no need to question all ten thousand customers, because you will be well satisfied to have the answer within 5 per cent of "truth," and you sense that if your route men talk to a sample of the customers you will have your answer.

Your problem is to select five hundred names at random from the ten thousand, and while there are more refined methods of accomplishing this purpose, you have elected to put a check mark beside every twentieth name on your list of customers. Your route men will then discuss cereal eating habits with this sample of your customers along lines you specify.

Now quite apart from whether your customers tell the truth to the milkmen, or whether the milkmen forget to interview them and make up the answers, or whether the people who tabulate the results fail to count or calculate properly, you know that your sampling error is approximately plus or minus 2 percentage points.

In order to express this more completely, let me assume that if we had talked to all ten thousand families, 50 per cent would say they eat cold cereal every day.

The laws of probability say that if you repeated this study one hundred times (using different random samples of five hundred from your list of ten thousand), in sixty-eight of them your answer would be within 2.1 percentage points of 50 per cent.

Or again, if you repeated the study one hundred times, in ninety-five of these studies your answer would be within 4.2 percentage points of 50 per cent.

Since we wanted to know the truth within 5 percentage points, we are almost certain that the sample of five hundred was adequate.

In the table below you can see what our error would be for three different size samples—one hundred, five hundred, and one thousand.

		Limits of Error	
		68 *times in* 100	95 *times in* 100
"Universe"	10,000	±0	±0
Samples	100	±4.95	±9.90
	500	±2.12	±4.24
	1,000	±1.42	±2.84

This table should also demonstrate that an increase of sample size does not bring a proportionate decrease in

probable error. This is important because a sample of 1,000 may cost you nearly ten times as much as a sample of 100, but each added dollar spent in increasing the sample size brings a progressively smaller return in accuracy.

The reason we could speak so positively about sampling error in the sample survey we have just completed is that we knew the names of all the people in advance, and could set up a random system of contacting them. We were in no rush to complete the survey. So if some names on our list were away on vacation, we would simply wait until they got back. Our sample was representative.

But in interviewing a cross section of the United States, the problems of obtaining a "representative" sample become formidable. To illustrate this, let me return to the classic example furnished by the notorious *Literary Digest* poll which "forecast" a Republican victory in the face of a Democratic landslide. It seems clear to us now that the *Literary Digest* reader—or, to put it more precisely, the reader who responded to the straw ballot—was not representative of the voting public.

In reality, the problems of contacting a representative sample are much more subtle and complex than this one. It was once supposed that if "quotas" were assigned to interviewers, covering sex, age, and education in various city sizes and in various regions of the country, proportionate to the census distribution, that a representative sample would be assured. Indeed, it is possible that such a method would produce reliable results today for some problems. But not for others. Because we have learned to ask the question, "Representative as to *what?*"

In other words, it is quite possible to have a sample

representative in terms of age, sex, education, city size, and geographical area, and still have it unrepresentative as to the problem at hand.

Let me cite a striking example. Some time ago we were studying the extent to which women recognized the brand names of nationally-known fabrics. Precise results were required. And in this instance we made our study in four cities that had up-to-date city directories. This gave us the equivalent of the milk route list discussed above, in that we could contact every *nth* address on the list selected in advance of the study.

Under conditions of field interviewing, some people were not at home when we called. Normally, under a quota sample, we might have looked for another woman who fitted our quota requirements. But in this instance we strongly suspected that women less likely to be at home were more likely to be working, or engaged in social or community activities. So we continued to revisit these not-at-home residences until a contact was finally made.

When the final results were tabulated, it appeared that women who required three or more contacts to find them at home knew three times as many fabric brand names as the women we found at home on the first call.

The point to be made here is that we might well have had a sample which was representative as to age, sex, education, city-size, and geographical area, but quite unrepresentative in respect to a characteristic which the census has not enumerated—the extent to which business or social activities create a familiarity with fabric brand names not found in such degree among women who stay at home.

Less dramatic but more commonplace threats to a representative sample are encountered in the field every day. Many of them center around the interviewer. The tendency to visit easily available homes, to talk to the most pleasant people, to avoid unpleasant neighborhoods, etc., is only human. But if such tendencies are not rigidly controlled, we may find our sample unrepresentative and, therefore, misleading in important respects.

Generally speaking, you will hear research men talk about two types of samples: "quota" and "probability" (sometimes the latter is referred to as "area" or "precision").

In the former, the interviewer selects respondents according to prescribed characteristics, generally substituting at will when contacts are unavailable or undesirable from her point of view. In the latter, the interviewer has no option in respect to the respondent. Addresses or individuals are preselected so that all people or families in the United States have a known probability of being included in the sample.

I do not mean to imply here that all "quota" samples are bad, and that only "probability" samples should be used. Most practitioners use both, depending upon the nature of the problem. If the problem is relatively simple, if the budget is relatively restricted, and if we have knowledge or a strong hunch that the variables we are measuring follow closely the characteristics covered by our quotas (as would not have been the case in the fabric study), then a quota sample may be entirely appropriate.

But for precise work, for work from which you must *know* the mathematical limits of its probable error, then

it is required that you use a sample that is random in all respects, not just in those the census has enumerated. And the only way to obtain this is through probability methods.

From this account of sampling it should also be clear that the reliability of a sample does not necessarily guarantee the validity of a study. It is quite possible to ask silly or vague questions of a very precise sample, and come up with statistically accurate data of no importance whatsoever.

Finally, unless your research problem is extremely general, and you are attempting only to get a straw in the wind, it is better to work with a researcher who is able to discuss these two types of sampling with you, and to satisfy you that his recommendation is based upon a careful consideration of the nature of your problem and of your need for accuracy.

Questionnaires

There are names for many different types of questionnaires, depending upon who is talking. But the most important difference between all of them is a difference in degree of structure. A "highly structured" questionnaire might be considered as one in which a respondent's answers are given in multiple choice form, and he has merely to indicate which answer most resembles his own opinion.

The underlying assumption of this type of questionnaire is that the person who wrote it knows precisely what information he is looking for, and is reasonably sure that all possible (or at least useful) responses are included in the choices he offers.

As a rule it is dangerous to use a highly structured form unless it has been preceded by a considerable amount of testing with less structured forms, to be sure that no responses are overlooked, and that questions are uniformly understood. The obvious advantage of such a form is that it can be tabulated with minimum effort.

The less structured questionnaire at the other extreme (sometimes pretentiously called a "depth interview"), consists mainly of what we call "open-end" questions—questions in which the respondent is encouraged to answer in his own language and in detail. Such forms are suitable for almost all exploratory work or pretesting. To the degree that they are used in large-scale surveys, it becomes costly to code and tabulate the responses, and frequently much flavor and meaning is lost in the coding process.

Much has been said of the avoidance of "leading questions," and much of this is nonsense. In this respect, I like the statement of the late Henry ("Buck") Weaver of General Motors, that "there is no such thing as a leading question; there are only misleading answers."

It is true that dishonest practitioners have sometimes phrased questions which will elicit answers calculated to mislead the research user. But it is equally true that almost all human communication is in some degree "leading," and that too much effort to neutralize it can make such a bland interview that bias is introduced through sheer boredom of the respondent.

I know of no narrow path to walk between these poles—this part of research being more a part of the art of communication than of science—except to point out these few sign posts.

A respondent will generally try to please the interviewer, and questions, therefore, should not reveal a way in which the interviewer can be pleased. Also, questions involving status of the respondent, his opinion of himself, his cultural tastes, et cetera, are likely to be misleading unless very carefully handled.

For instance, this can appear in such an apparently straightforward survey as one on newspaper readership. People claim to read more than they do. And they claim to read more "up-scale" newspapers than they do. Elaborate precaution must be taken in questionnaire design to relieve them not only of their desire to claim status but also of any guilt they might feel for their actual behavior.

Frequently, much is made of two phrasings of a question producing different results, as if one phrasing were correct and one incorrect; and one answer true and the other false. Neither is likely to be the case. It is more useful to look upon a question as a stimulus, and an answer as a response. In this sense, all responses are "true," though some may be more useful to you than others.

But where pretesting of a questionnaire indicates an instance in which different phrasing produces different responses, it is sometimes very enlightening to discover why. There is generally some indication that emotions have been brought into play, which may have some bearing in the engineering of consent.

Interviewers

As of today, most interviewers work part time and are recruited from housewives, teachers, students, et cetera, who supplement their income by this work at rates gen-

erally ranging from \$1.00 to \$1.50 an hour. Here in New York, this approximates the wage scale for laundresses.

So it is fairly safe to say that most interviewers, certainly the best ones, work for psychic income as well as money, and will respond to fair treatment, intelligent supervision, professional questionnaire construction, and responsiveness and appreciation for their work to a far greater degree than is generally understood.

The key point to remember, as you review a proposed questionnaire, is that its only purpose is to create a conversation between your interviewer and your respondent which flows freely, whose purpose is not obscure, which is as stimulating as can be without creating bias, and which falls within a time limit short enough not to create an imposition. The latter is variable. Sometimes dull questionnaires are unavoidable. But a questionnaire which is both dull and long is extremely difficult to supervise and execute in the field.

But the facts are that no survey can be any better than the quality of its execution in the field, and there is no room for blind faith on the part of management that problems in field execution will take care of themselves.

A colleague of mine, Paul Gerhold, has become increasingly dissatisfied with the quality of research field work, and with the inattention given field problems by many practitioners. In a recent address he spoke of "The Seven Deadly Interviewing Sins": alteration (changing the characteristics of respondents to fit an assigned quota); domestication (interviewing the same willing respondents, survey after survey); duplication (executing two or three questionnaires at the same time); abbrevia-

tion (securing part of the information and filling in the rest by inference); extenuation (making respondents more articulate than they really are); multiplication (overcharging for the hours actually spent); and falsification.

Neither he nor I would like to convey the general impression that field interviewers are inherently dishonest. There are many fine professionals in the field available both for interviewing and for skilled supervision. And the blame for many of the "sins" mentioned, he places squarely on the shoulders of the research director responsible for the study.

In planning research, or in choosing a research facility, it will be intelligent for you to ask what provisions have been made for field supervision, training, and interviewer selection; and what machinery has been set up for the validation of at least a sample of the interviews, so that you can be sure they were made in accordance with instructions.

Tabulation and analysis

Tabulation is generally thought of as counting, either mechanically or by hand, by more or less highly trained clerical personnel. While it is particularly true that many of the tabulating man-hours consumed are spent in routine work, it is impossible to separate the planning of tabulations from analysis itself. And analysis, next to formulating the problem, requires a higher degree of skill than any other research activity.

While the pressure of time may often prevent it, I like to see a schedule of the proposed tabulations, cross-

tabulations, and break-downs submitted with the questionnaire before the job goes into the field. Just as you have disciplined yourself to ask, "What action will I take if my inquiry shows thus and so?," the research director should know in advance the tabulations he will make of each question asked. This procedure often serves to eliminate much fuzziness or slackness in questionnaire construction.

Even so, such foresight never seems to be enough to cope with an element of the unsuspected which generally appears in the first "runs" to be tabulated. Even if you have conducted your research from a rigidly formulated hypothesis, the findings are likely to modify it. And each modification is likely to produce new hunches, many of which can be explored and illuminated within the body of data you have collected.

For example: Research was once undertaken to determine whether or not a certain instant non-coffee beverage should be packaged in its old canister or in glass. The results showed clearly that it made no difference whatsoever to the consumer. Therefore, the management decision could be made wholly on economic grounds. However, a by-product of the tabulation indicated that if it were packaged in glass, the grocer would be more likely to place it in the instant coffee section of the store. And sales were found to increase substantially when this was done.

Alfred Korzybski once pointed out that the only possible content of knowledge was structure, or relationships.

The purpose of most surveys is to discover the relationships between certain elements of data. And when these are discovered, new relationships are suggested, and at this point tabulation is inseparable from analysis.

After the obvious relationships have been tabulated, the skilled analyst is likely to be found in the tabulating room at midnight making trial runs, asking, testing, fitting—in a word, thinking.

And the more he understands your problem and the alternative decisions from which you must choose, the more constructively he will be able to do his job.

Standards

Much that has been said has had a bearing on how to tell a good research job from a bad one.

In order not to be repetitious, I should like merely to make reference here to a recent publication of the Advertising Research Foundation, entitled *Criteria for Marketing and Advertising Research*. I am informed that the Foundation will be happy to mail copies upon request.[1]

These criteria are elaborations of eight basic questions listed below:

1. Under what conditions was the study made?
2. Has the questionnaire been well designed?
3. Has the interviewing been adequately and reliably done?
4. Has the best sampling plan been followed?
5. Has the sampling plan been fully executed?
6. Is the sample large enough?

[1] Advertising Research Foundation, 11 West 42nd Street, New York 36, New York.

7. Was there systematic control of editing, coding, and tabulating?

8. Is the interpretation forthright and logical?

Any set of standards is necessarily based upon ideal conditions, and practice in this profession, as in any other, will often lead to calculated deviations from the ideal. For this reason, I believe that the overriding criterion in public opinion research, as in any other form of scientific research, should be its reproducibility.

I am familiar with the impatience of most executives to learn the answer. Also, I see no reason why a busy executive need involve himself in the detailed methodology of all research reports which come across his desk. Inspection for quality often can be delegated, but if decisions are to be based upon research, it can never be overlooked.

As a consequence, I am strongly inclined to discount any research findings presented to me which do not fully reveal the methods used to obtain them, and in such a way that I could reproduce the study with no important differences in method.

Operations

How do you get a research job started?

I am assuming that there are three classes of readers interested in this problem: those who represent interests with research facilities of their own; those who have no research facilities but are able to employ an independent research firm to carry on a research program or survey; and those who are limited to a "do it yourself" program but who have some "feel" for quality.

Both of the first two groups will in most instances require the facilities of an independent research firm for major studies, simply because few organizations have sufficient volume of field work to maintain a national staff of highly trained interviewers. The major difference between them is that where there is a research department, the selection of an independent research organization is frequently left to the research director. Otherwise it is management which must decide.

But in either case, it is too often true that the selection of a facility is based upon cost estimates for the work. And there are several reasons why I believe this is a wholly unsatisfactory way to make a decision of this kind.

To begin with, no cost estimate is possible until the problem has been thoroughly formulated and the survey plan has been highly developed. Needless to say, this is one of the most important contributions, and one of the greatest expenses incurred, by the research company. This is why I believe it is highly unfair to ask for this kind of work on a speculative basis. Many of our leading research firms quite properly decline to do it at all.

But if costs are submitted, assuming that your own organization has furnished fairly complete specifications for the survey plan, then you still have no way of knowing in advance the quality of differences in performance which are implicit in the several estimates.

Vast differences in estimates are infrequent and are generally a source of suspicion. Narrower differences should not be considered too important, because if the magnitude of the decision you will make as a result of the

research does not dwarf this difference, then it may well be that you should not be doing the research at all.

There are only a handful of research men in the country who can be called well-to-do; and these few have consistently, over the years, proved their skill at maintaining a satisfied list of clients.

I should be more interested in learning these things: Who the firm has worked for more than once; the firm's experience with the kind of problem with which I am faced; the firm's knowledge of its craft, with particular reference to sample design; the frequency with which it makes personal contact with its field supervisors and interviewers; and the alertness with which it contributes to formulating the problem, translates it into experimental design, and foresees the final report as a decision-making instrument.

It is frequently pointed out that different independent research firms excel in different types of research, and there is some truth to this. But if I ran a business which had no research department, I should think more was to be gained by appointing one independent research firm as my consultant and expecting from it a reasonably professional and objective attitude towards the special problems which lie beyond its field, than to try to pinpoint, without previous experience, precisely the "right" firm for my problems. We expect this from our doctors. There is no reason why it can't be obtained from research professionals.

Those who have a research need, but no budget for it, pose a different problem. Unfortunately there is no easy answer for it. But wherever lists of names can be

obtained which are representative of the universe you are trying to sample—whether a milk route, or a list of people who have replied to an advertisement or visited an exhibit or have telephones in your home town (assuming you have no interest in non-telephone homes)—then there are interesting possibilities in controlled mail research. It is inexpensive. And it can be precise under these circumstances:

For instance, in the dairy-route example given above, it may have occurred to some that if housewives are awakened at six in the morning to answer a question on cold cereal consumption, a certain measure of ill will may be incurred. Therefore, it may be impractical to have route men do the interviewing.

In this instance, I go through the same procedure to determine my sample size and make a random selection from the complete list, taking every *nth* case. Then I address a cordial letter to each, stating my problem, enclosing a stamped envelope and a brief questionnaire, as well as a ball-point pen which has cost me, say fifteen cents.

Other premiums may be used. I like a ball-point pen or automatic pencil, because the respondent's first impulse is to try it out on my questionnaire.

In general, experience shows that, with samples of this kind, you will receive a reply from approximately 50 per cent within the next eight to ten days.

At this point you have no way of knowing whether the 50 per cent is, or is not, representative of the complete sample. In other words, people who reply may be different from those who don't.

You then make a second mailing to the 250 non-repliers, explaining that your first letter must have miscarried, expressing an eagerness to hear from them, and enclosing another ball-point pen. This may produce a reply from about half of the original non-repliers, which means that you have a total of 75 per cent.

If you find that in your first flight of responses, half of the families eat cold cereal regularly, and the same was true of your second flight, then you might presume that the remaining families would react the same way.

But if you find that half of the first flight eat cold cereal regularly, and substantially fewer of the second flight, then you may wish to repeat the procedure and send a third mailing, with a ball-point pen, to the 25 per cent who have not yet replied.

In this case we have, let us say, 50 per cent of the first flight eating cold cereal, 35 per cent of the second flight, and 20 per cent of the third flight. By this time you have recovered about 85 per cent of your sample, which is very nearly complete. But in addition you are able to predict that the remaining 15 per cent eat cold cereal less regularly than any of the first three groups, and probably less than the third mailing.

There are two principles in controlled mail research which, in my experience, must be followed. The first is the presentation of a gift; not a reward. It is a more effective psychology to place people under an obligation to you than it is to reimburse them.

The second principle lies in repeated mailings to non-respondents until you are sure that you will not be misled by a non-respondent bias.

I know large and well-heeled corporations who have utilized various forms of this type of research. But its chief beauty for many of you will be that it can be adequately conducted by a man and his secretary.

The experimental idea

The foundations of communications research were laid thirty years ago by a small group of advertising men who abandoned the "name before the public" theory of advertising in favor of what John Kennedy termed "salesmanship in print."

Almost all of the basic tenets of advertising technique were formulated then, as the result of careful study of coupon returns. Themes, headlines, layouts were continually experimented with, on a small scale. And when the most productive advertisement was discovered, it was run widely with known, or highly predictable, results before the space was paid for.

Men such as Claude Hopkins[2] began to preach that advertising could be virtually free of risk, if only it were approached experimentally—testing on a small scale before major commitments were made.

In a sense this was an early application of sampling theory. One could obtain a higher degree of predictability of the "whole" by an intensive study of a representative part—and with risk of only small loss if the experiment proved unsuccessful.

Test advertisements were run. Test markets were chosen to study, on a small scale, the costs of building business.

[2] *Scientific Advertising*, Moore Publishing Company.

Times have changed. The coupon, which in a sense was research "built in" to the cost of placing an advertisement, no longer can be counted on to draw replies which are representative of customers for most mass distributed goods. And test markets have become dangerous sites for experimental work with competitive products, because it has become part of competitive technique to invade someone else's test markets to obscure his experiment. In other words, extra competitive effort will make the chosen market less representative and, therefore, less useful for prediction.

Yet the principle of testing on a small scale is as sound today as it ever was, and is a useful concept wherever consent must be engineered.

For instance, I remember a colleague of mine in the Office of Price Administration who was charged with writing the instructions for the first rationing book. He was a trained writer, but was properly concerned with the understandability of a document which had to be understood in every home in the United States.

I introduced him to the expert research team then functioning with the Office of War Information, and while haste was of the essence, they found time to make three quick studies in the New York area. The researchers would work all day, and my friend would rewrite his instructions all night. For instance, they learned that Anglo-Saxon root words were not as readily understood as Latin root words. The term "value" was far more generally understood than the term "worth." If I remember correctly, the visualization of the instructions was also radically changed.

We are continually in the field, testing advertising copy. But it is an axiom that advertising, like a mirror, works best when it serves functionally to reflect the product, and not to call attention to itself as an ad. This makes testing perilous for opinion research techniques, since some measure of self-consciousness is built into the experiment. This is apparent immediately if I show you two advertisements and ask you which one is more interesting, or more likely to make you want the product, et cetera.

In dealing with premeasuring the effect of words, we are leaning more and more toward behavior measurements (as the old couponers did), and less and less toward opinion measurements. For if a question is a stimulus, and an answer a response, we have little way of knowing the extent to which an opinion is mature and settled, or thought up on the spur of the moment, because of the stimulus. In this sense, we are often dealing not with opinions, but with opinions of opinions, in the sense that a person will tell you what he thinks he thinks.

For example, Louis Cheskin of the Color Research Institute tells an amusing story about the way in which men will place colors in rank order of preference. Black is usually lowest on the list, having funereal and other unhappy associations. However, if we expand the question (stimulus) to refer to black lingerie, suddenly we find black appearing as the most favored color!

We can avoid some measure of this uncertainty in opinion analysis by designing experiments which include some components of behavior.

In testing various themes for a beverage, we dis-

tributed identical packages of the beverage, except for a white typewritten label containing a five-word statement as to its merits. Each respondent was given just two units of this merchandise, with different label descriptions, was asked to sample both, and to tell us which was preferred. In this experiment, 80 per cent of the respondents told us they had a preference. And among these, twice as many "preferred" one to the other. We concluded that the description of one was far more powerful than the other, since this was the only difference.

Similarly, we sometimes write a letter to two "matched" samples of prospects. In one letter we extol the merits of the product in one way. In the other we tell of different advantages. Perhaps we will repeat this three or four times in as many months. Then, with no apparent connection with the writer of the letters, an interviewer appears at the door to ask about buying habits in respect to a whole class of commodities, in which ours is included. The most successful letter (theme) will produce a higher purchase rate. I once saw this happen where the preferred theme, in an interview in which we asked about the "most interesting," was the one which proved less likely to induce buying behavior when subsequently tested by mail.

I mention these examples only because of the universal tendency of most writers, commercial and academic alike, to fall in love with their own words. But whether we are talking about advertising, or press releases, or community action programs, or employee relations, or whatever, the case for an experimental approach seems to me to be unassailable. Not because judgment always needs

to be validated by research, or because research is always sufficiently precise to become an arbiter, but because human communication is by its nature so uncertain that no one should hesitate to test his assumptions by launching a trial balloon.

Summary

You have been solving problems since infancy, and you have done this by collecting data or observing, by interpreting, by formulating a new point of view, by testing it in action, observing again, and reaching new conclusions.

So the essence of research is inside your skin and part of your nervous system, whether or not you employ the services of a professional researcher.

In most instances, you cannot delegate the definition of the problem, any more than you can ask a doctor for a diagnosis without telling him in detail your symptoms.

In this sense, what you get out of research is proportionate to what you put into it. There are no "free rides." And the test of whether or not you have done your job is usually your grasp, in advance of the research, of how the findings will affect your choice of decisions.

Problems occur on different levels, ranging from the most general to the most specific. Your optimum research value will come from a definition of the problem in the most specific terms you are able to formulate. Never be more general than your ignorance forces you to be.

Do not confuse important problems with difficult problems. Some of the most difficult problems have little or no bearing upon action.

At the core of the experimental idea is the principle of sampling—of taking a part for the whole. And at the core of sampling is the idea of being representative—not in terms of age, sex, and income alone, but in terms of all the variables that have a bearing on the thing you are trying to measure. Beware of the unrepresentative. It is the enemy of predictability.

There are few rules for proper questionnaire design. But you will make fewer mistakes if you think of a questionnaire as an instrument of communication, as a conversation piece, as a basis for dialogue, as distinguished from monologue. And there is no proscription against leading questions, providing you are not misled by them. Think of field interviewers as a human resource in a formalized system of communication, rather than as robots who will do as they are told.

Think of tabulation as *thinking*, not merely counting. If the only possible content of knowledge is structure or relationships, then tabulation, by rearranging relationships, is a path to higher levels of knowledge and understanding.

There is no easy way to tell a good research job from a poor one. But the first and most fundamental test is its reproducibility. Be suspicious of any research which does not state clearly the complete details of how it was done.

Do not let cost be too important a factor in your selection of a research facility. There are no research bargains, and few researchers live as well as you. Choose in terms of interest, experience, rapport with your problem, a "feel" for the outcome in terms of your alternative decisions.

Finally, have the modesty to dare an experiment. Try it out. The successful engineering of the consent of millions can often be foretold by the study of hundreds. This is not only prudence. It is high order of general intelligence, embraced by the term "the experimental idea," in which research is not so much a part of the outside world as it is a part of your own point of view.

Strategy

Nicholas Samstag

BY SOME CLAIRVOYANT PROCESS known only to Edward L. Bernays, I find assigned to me that portion of this book concerned with "strategy."

But when I start thinking about some of the stratagems that I have known (or even fathered), I become uneasily aware of how stubbornly the human mind insists on gilding the lily. Forethought and post-rationalization, for example, are inextricably mingled in my memory as they apply to stratagems quite recently applied. "Is this how I figured it in advance—or is this how I justified it later?": that is one question that constantly recurs when I think back over strategic decisions. Needless to say, man tends to credit to forethought victories which, conscience keeps reminding, may well belong in the category of afterthought.

And another question is: "Who was responsible for the strategy?" The answer to that one is almost never an individual's name—for most businesses today work and

think in groups. And repeatedly the answer is not even a group inside the company. As one of us once said, "We are frequently the beneficiaries of our competition." (I wonder how often *our* competition can say the same thing about us.)

Nevertheless, I will try here, first, to outline in general terms some thinking about strategy—and, second, to describe in some detail certain strategic patterns of which I have become too slowly aware—(often the hard way, as the victim of their application by others).

The word "strategy," like "democracy," or "love," or "altruism," is an abstraction—and it's likely to mean different things to different people.

Many scholars have tried to define it, but the result is far from unanimous. I have hinted at the pitfalls in the way when one starts to consider the concept "strategy" as applied to one's own experiences—and something of the sort must have muddied the thinking of everyone who has ever tried to put this wraith of a word in chains, and express it precisely on paper.

There is little argument about its origins, but it has come a great, tortuous distance since then. "Strategos" is the ancient Greek word for leader of an army (also spelled "strategegus"). Almost all commentators on the subject agree that it is a thought process required of leadership, a habit of thinking, an attitude toward thinking, and the ability to think in terms of the whole problem, including its future after victory or defeat.

This is a god-like conception, and men are not gods. Nor do they put blinders on their mental processes. Con-

sequently, their thinking wanders out of strategy into tactics and back again—until the area is all trampled over.

This is not hard to understand when we consider the unreliability of history itself, out of which most of our knowledge of strategy derives.

Herbert J. Muller, in his *Uses of the Past*, points out that history is filled with profound incongruities and paradoxes—that historians probably can never attain an impersonal exactitude; and, consequently, their accounts of the world's past reveals that there are no universal truths, no eternal verities, no absolutes. For history, Mr. Miller goes on, is made not by the event but by man's beliefs about what has happened, what is happening, and what should happen.

It is on this fact that strategy builds. Strategists are concerned with truth always, for they must be realists. But they are equally concerned with the people's interpretation of the truth—and sometimes they must give this interpretation precedence in their thinking even over the truth itself.

In *Love Against Hate*, Dr. Karl Menninger, past president of the American Psychoanalytic Association and director of the Menninger Clinic, says: "Recently in a talk with the head of a large advertising firm, I complained about a certain radio campaign carried on by the manufacturer of one brand of a widely used product. 'Everyone knows,' I said, 'that the exaggerations, the enthusiasm, the peculiar qualities emphasized on that program are nonsense. Why can't he say: "Our brand of this product pleases many people; naturally, we think it is better than competitive brands and we would like to have

you think so; consequently, we are trying to enlist your good will by financing the following program. The more packages of our product that we can sell you and your friends, the more programs like this you will get,"—why can't he say that?'

"My advertising friend replied: 'In the first place, if you are the Ford Motor Company, you can do that (although it doesn't). But if you are anything less powerful, you cannot. The public might be suspicious that you were giving them programs instead of quality in your product. But the most important reason is that every experiment in advertising copy shows that extravagant claims, boasting, promises held out, etc., produce better results than simple, straightforward announcements. Wishful thinking and simple hopefulness influence the actions of human beings far more than rational intelligence. Effective advertising is therefore based upon emotions and not upon intelligence.' "[1]

One of the major foundations on which Vilfredo Pareto, the great Italian sociologist, built his theory of the actions of man, strongly emphasized the non-logical elements in human activities. He analyzed a great number of theories expressed by the world's "movers and shakers" and then compared them with the actual practices of these men of reputation. His conclusion: their activities were determined hardly at all by any form of reasoning.

Commenting on Pareto's *General Sociology* in the *Economic Forum*, Richard V. Worthington says: "There are [in this book] certain ideas and discoveries which may

[1] Karl Menninger and Jeanetta Lyle Menninger, *Love Against Hate* (New York, Harcourt, Brace and Company, 1942).

. . . be of considerable value . . . to those who wish to modify society. . . . Many men . . . have tried to change the conduct of people by reasonings, or by passing certain laws. Their endeavors have often been peculiarly barren of results. Pareto shows how their failure is associated with the importance of the non-logical. . . . People must be controlled by manipulating their [instincts and emotions] rather than by changing their reasonings. This is a fact of which politicians have always made use when they have persuaded their constituents by appealing to their sentiments, rather than by employing . . . [reasoning], which would never be listened to or at least never prove effective for moving the crowds."

But let's go to a more popular source, and see what Webster's Unabridged has to say about "strategy." Here it is: "the science and art of employing the armed strength of a belligerent to secure the objectives of a war. More restricted, the science and art of military command, exercised to meet the enemy in combat under advantageous conditions. Also, a kind or instance of it."

The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* tells us (1944 Edition, vol. 21, p. 452 *et seq.*) that our word appeared first as a military term early in the eighteenth century. Armies were beginning then to get more and more professional, and more expensive. (That process has not decelerated; see our government's budget and your own income tax.)

It began to cost more than merely human lives to fight a war wastefully, and wars were being increasingly waged for limited political objectives. Consequently, a lot of shrewd calculations were beginning to be made concerning the price it was worth while to pay for the

prize. In short, the decision to go to war began to become more a matter of reason and less a matter of anger.

This sort of line-up often produces a stalemate which can best be upset by a stratagem or a ruse employed by one side or another *on the grand scale.* Napoleon was among the first to see this fact, to break up his resources into maneuverable parts and plan vast operations coordinated to a common objective.

Clausewitz, in his monumental work *On War,* defined strategy as "the art of the employment of battles as a means to gain the objective of the war. In other words, strategy forms the plans of the war, maps out the proposed course of the different campaigns which compose the war, and regulates the battles to be fought in each."

Clausewitz and his definition caused all kinds of trouble. He intruded on the sphere of policy, at the higher conduct of the war, which must necessarily be the responsibility of the government and not of the military leaders it employs as its agents in executive control of operations. "Battle" became overemphasized as the only means to the strategical end. A long list of Clausewitz's disciples (less profound than he) began to confuse the means with the end—and came to the conclusion that in war everything should be subordinated to the aim of fighting a *decisive battle.*

When all power is concentrated in an autocratic soldier-ruler like Napoleon, the distinction between policy and strategy makes no difference anyhow. But soldiers have always been tempted to claim that policy should not affect them in the conduct of their operations; while civilian statesmen are always being urged not to step over

the line and interfere with the manner in which the military handles its tools.

General von Moltke, chief of the German General Staff at the beginning of World War I, came up with another definition of strategy: "The practical adaptation of the means placed at a general's disposal to the attainment of the objective in view." This definition fixes the responsibility of a military commander to the government by which he is employed—but here again, the definition sounds more like tactics than strategy.

In its original and true sense ("the art of the general"), strategy depends first of all on sound calculation and co-ordination of the end and the means. The end must be proportioned to the total means—and each means used in reaching intermediate goals must be evaluated to such goals. An excess of means may be as harmful as a deficiency.

As regards the relationship of strategy to tactics, as I have said, the borderline is often shadowy, and it is difficult to decide exactly where a strategical movement in execution ends and a tactical movement begins. Theoretically, however, the two are distinct. Tactics lies in and fulfills the province of fighting. Strategy not only stops on the frontier, but has for its purpose the reduction of fighting to the slenderest possible proportions.

Throughout history the direct approach, aiming to gain a decision by the tactical application of a superior concentration of force, has been the normal form of strategy; a purposeful indirect approach, the rare exception. Yet the latter form has many decisive successes to its credit; the former, few. And those few have been pur-

chased at exorbitant cost. In numerous cases, moreover, the indirect approach has only been adopted as a last resort, even a last gamble, after the failure of a direct approach. Reflection suggests, and history confirms, that a direct approach is the worst of all military risks—worse than the passage of mountains, deserts, or swamps, worse than that of cutting oneself loose from one's supplies or of operating with inferior forces. Natural hazards, however formidable, are inherently less dangerous and uncertain than fighting hazards. *For all conditions are more calculable, all obstacles more surmountable than those of human resistance.* By reasoned calculation and preparation, those conditions can often be overcome almost to "timetable" predictability.

Finally, I would say that the difference between tactics and strategy lies in the *mind of the planner.* A pattern of tactics becomes a strategy only when the mind behind the pattern has thought through the whole problem—has taken into consideration the possibility of both success AND failure—has calculated the risks and decided upon action of some kind.

A battle can be a tactic and also part of a strategy. Did the general plan the battle in the light of the whole war—or did he just get in there and fight: In the former case, he's a strategist—in the latter, a tactician. In either case, he may be a dead duck before it's all over.

There is a strategy of timing. We all saw it work during the last presidential election as the competing parties launched attacks upon each other, raised major issues, brought forward influential speakers and supporters at

various moments carefully calculated to have the maximum effect on the electorate. The spacing of these tactics along the calendar, and then their rearrangements during the campaign's course in answer to the moves of the opponent, was a clear and recent example of the strategy of timing. (Politics abounds with such examples: Theodore Roosevelt always made his most dramatic announcements on Sunday. Little major news breaks over the weekend, and so his statements tended to get unusually prominent display in Monday's newspapers.)

In the magazine publishing business, the strategy of timing comes to the fore whenever there is a wave of advertising rate increases. In fact, the raising or lowering of prices in any industry always spotlights this particular strategy—because much depends on how soon or late any individual company acts compared with the movements of his competitors.

It can be a sign of strength to raise your prices first. (Demand for your product is so great that you are confident you can retain your profit position despite the possible loss in volume resulting from the differential between your charge and that of your competitors.)

Or it can be a sign of distress. Says Rumor: "He had to do it, or he would have gone out of business. He needed the immediate income—but watch what it does to his future!"

Raising prices later than others is also dichotomous. Implies the laggard: "Our volume is so high and our operations so efficient that we can make a nice profit, thank you, without milking our customers."

Or a tardy increase may show great weakness. Says

the competitor, "They knew that if they upped their prices, they'd lose so much business that they'd be even worse off than they are now!"

How to decide! Research, budgets, guesswork, wisdom—and, most important of all, the security that comes of knowing that you are being told the facts and not merely what your informants think you want to hear.

The strategy of timing suffuses our world. It is all around us—in the visit of the man selling burner oil the day after we move into a new house—in the appearance every late February and early March of advertisements about the late J. K. Lasser's book, *How to Make Out Your Income Tax*—in the rash of seed catalogues that hit your mailbox every spring—and even in the sudden friendliness of an acquaintance who had been aloof for years. (Your boy is home from college and the acquaintance has a young niece spending the holidays with her.)

But the most purposeful strategy of timing is that which creates the condition in advance of the act, and then strikes at the maturity point.

Recently, an acquaintance of mine tried to persuade his superior that their firm should stock a new and expensive electrical appliance in whose volume potentialities he had great faith. The boss said no—several times with increasing vigor. (It didn't work—people wouldn't buy it once the novelty had worn thin. They'd run it down to their friends, and the market would die out.)

But Chuck had faith in his own judgment—and so he seeded his idea around the boss. He bought twelve of these appliances—and sent them to a dozen friends of the boss with cards enclosed saying something like: "I

thought you'd like one of these, Bill." The notes were all worded differently and signed with different first names —and the deliveries were scattered over two or three months. It caused a lot of head-scratching and social embarrassment.

But they were good gadgets—and inevitably the boss heard praise of them in his home and in the homes of his puzzled friends. Chuck never had to cash in on his strategy. One day his boss dropped in on him. Said he: "They must have improved the damn thing. Let's get a supply in quick."

There is a strategy of forbearance. It is, in a sense, part of the strategy of timing, but it deserves special attention. Forbearance grows out of strength and wisdom; it is seldom used by the young or the insecure. The British Empire, during the hundred years of the Pax Britannica, held its place of eminence over its own colonies and the rest of the world as much by what it forbore to do as by what it did. All around the world, between 1815 and 1914, the British held back in the face of provocation, fought many battles but few wars, steadily resisted the temptation to expand too precipitously. "The Unfought Wars of England" is the title of a book not, as far as I know, yet written—but it would be a long and exciting one, a living testament to the ancient adage, "Most of the things we worry about never happen."

The magazine I work for is frequently made the subject of open, competitive attack in print by others in the field, a price always paid for leadership. Nevertheless, *Time* has resolutely refused to reply in kind in its adver-

tising or public promotion. Some of the provocations are more than annoying—often they look as if they might do real damage if the record is not immediately set straight. But as the days and weeks go by, the gravity of each attack seems to fade—and year after year, as the totals are chalked up, the wisdom of *Time's* strategy of forbearance goes indelibly on the record.

The case of the employer who puts up with aggressive inadequacies in a staff member because of a single talent he possesses which would be hard to duplicate—the case of the nation which refuses to crack down on a recalcitrant smaller neighbor and thus risk incurring the bad will of world public opinion—the parent who permits transgression of normally rigid rules during the child's convalescence from an illness—all these are pertinent examples of the strategy of forbearance. Present in the strategy must be a provocation or temptation usually leading to action—and a withholding of that action for a larger possible reward. (The great question, of course, is whether withholding the action truly advances the larger purpose. If poor judgment is too often exercised in answering that question, the result can be a continuing state of irrational stasis—and this can handicap the cause more than would the impulsive act itself.)

It seems to be inherent in our American system that the larger and more potentially powerful an institution becomes, the less public opinion permits it to strike back at its critics, and the more it must use the strategy of forbearance. Thus an increasingly severe test is applied to a corporation as it grows larger. It must be strongly and obviously virtuous in greater and greater degree, to with-

stand and survive the increasing pressure brought upon it by the public to stay silent in the face of attacks (which become more and more numerous as the corporation grows). This procedure has become not so much a check on growth as an assurance that worth and growth will proceed hand in hand.

There is a strategy of approach. It is very often true that the shortest distance between two points is *not* a straight line.

Recently at *Time* we were discussing a booklet which would marshal between its covers the arguments for advertising most likely to influence the treasurers and comptrollers in the companies from which *Time* derives its advertising revenue. The discussion turned to lists of treasurers, where they could be obtained, how up-to-date they would be. And then Velma Francis, our copy chief, pointed out that we could not send such a booklet to the treasurer of a company without telling the advertising manager what we were up to, and sending him a copy, also. Our contact is always the advertising manager, and he might well resent our going over his head to an official of his company.

But, she went on, why send it to the treasurer at all —why not *only* to the advertising manager with the suggestion that *he* send it on to the treasurer? The relations of an advertising department with the treasurer's office are not always smooth and genial, and the advertising manager might welcome the chance to put part of his case before the treasurer over *Time's* name. It was so decided.

This strategy is visible also in the growing tendency to blanket all factors in business who may influence a decision, instead of focusing only on the single individual who *expresses* the decision.

As a matter of fact, the purchasing agent of a large corporation is only infrequently a major factor in deciding which of many suppliers is to receive any large order. Similarly, he seldom sparks the order, although more often he can block it.

The prime mover of an eventual order for hundreds of water coolers may be the personnel manager—the person who inspires the idea of repainting the huge offices of a major corporation may be the wife of a relatively minor executive—a decision to build a new plant in Colorado instead of California may originate in a remark made by the firm's legal counsel to the chief engineer during a game of golf.

Less and less do the presidents of our more vigorous corporations hand down ukases on major purchasing decisions. Consultations go on and on; groups meet in offices and at luncheon; talk goes on inside and outside the company—and finally a decision is made. Who made it? "They" did—and their name is legion.

The strategy of approach requires, in its wisest form, that all bases be covered—that every individual who can conceivably influence the decision be exposed to the arguments in its favor.

The most unexpected application of this principle that I can remember enlisted the help of a dog which belongs to friend of mine. The dog's name is "Chattle" and his master prizes him inordinately, partly because the

beast won't let anybody else near him. A certain young man wanted very much to be my friend's personal assistant. He had put his case forward in every way short of bad taste, but he knew that the moment of decision was close at hand.

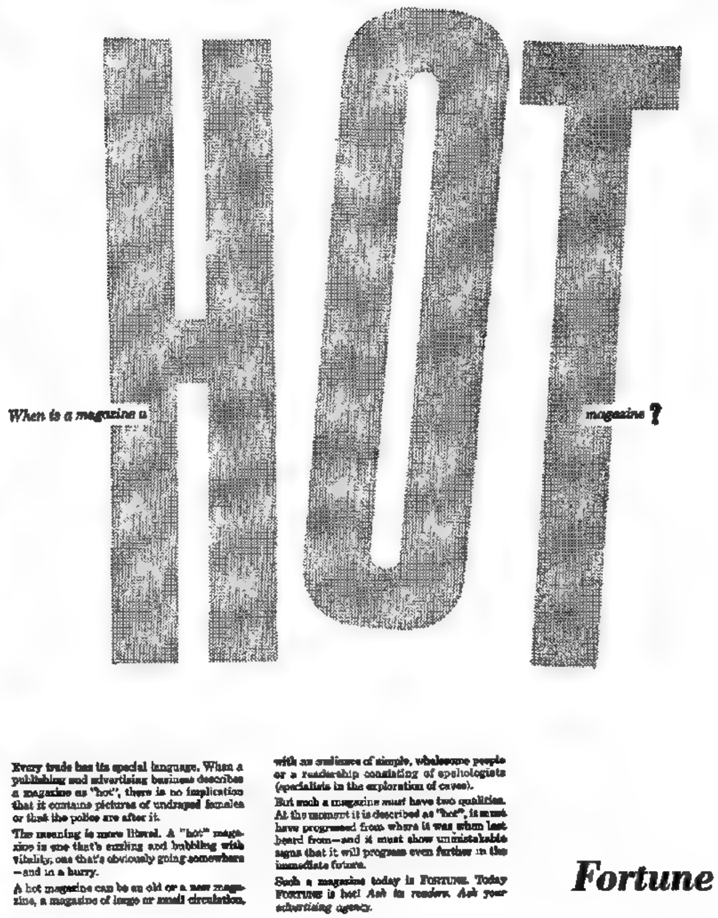
One morning as his boss-to-be emerged for breakfast on the terrace of his suburban home, Chattle, as usual, was waiting by the table, sitting immobile on his haunches, the folded newspaper held between dry lips as he had been taught to do. The boss patted his head, took the paper, sat down, and stabbed into his grapefruit.

Then he opened his *Times* to read the headlines—and there, clipped to page one was a brief note: "See—even Chattle thinks I'm all right. Bill Soames."

The three of them have been happy together for a long time now.

There is a strategy of surprise. Our country was the victim of it on December 7, 1941. "Surprise" witnesses have reversed the trends of trials ever since the first culprit was haled before the first judge. New products are often best introduced to their markets in a sudden torrent of advertising and publicity which, for the moment, dominates the media in which they appear. And if the date of the "*putsch*" can be kept secret from competition, so much the better.

One tactic in the strategy of surprise is a sudden change in *tone*. Thus, late in 1951, when *Fortune* wanted to draw swift attention to a recent record of advertising, editorial, and circulation successes, it bought full-page newspaper space in key cities across the nation. The mes-



sage was headlined: "When is a magazine a HOT magazine?" and the word "hot" was twelve inches high. (See reproduction.) It was as if a gentleman in morning trousers and a cutaway, with a long tradition of courtliness, should suddenly rise at a reception and shout at the hostess.

Good taste? Not exactly. But once in a lifetime, forgivable—and the effect was exactly as calculated.

There is a strategy of participation. The small-town newspaper editor who systematically mentions the name of every subscriber at least once a year is practicing it. So is the magazine that questions its readers on their favorite (or least favorite) features—the firm that uses the "suggestion box" intelligently—the farmer who gives his young son the yield from a quarter-acre instead of a cash allowance.

Back in the '40's, the two major radio systems were known as the Blue and the Red networks. There came a moment when the March-of-Time-on-Radio decided to switch from the Red to the Blue. For many months, the program had been on the Red Network, and it had built up a great listening audience there. On a certain Friday night, these listeners would try to dial in their favorite news program, and some other feature would come in. Our audience had to be forewarned.

Radio spots on the Blue Network and advertisements on the radio pages of large city dailies were purchased, but a full schedule of such ads would have been most expensive—and would still have missed a great number

of fans. One other major source of publicity existed—the newspaper's radio critics and radio columnists. How to persuade them to mention the switch?

During this period, the March-of-Time, in addition to its re-enactments of news events, was presenting on each program a single prominent newsmaker, who discussed briefly some issue of the hour. A letter on the personal stationery of the March-of-Time's producer was sent to every radio critic in the country, asking him to nominate ten such personalities to appear on forthcoming programs.

"In a sense," the letter read in part, "you and I are in the same business: you report the news of radio; we report the news *on* radio. Would you be good enough to let me know what newsmakers of our day, in your opinion, we should invite to appear on the March-of-Time?" *No mention of the forthcoming switch of networks appeared in this letter.*

Inevitably, most critics nominated a group of the same men: prominent statesmen, generals, public figures important in the news of that period. Inevitably, many of them were already scheduled to appear on the March-of-Time—and did appear shortly thereafter.

The critics were thanked for their suggestions. "Many of your nominees have been invited to appear on our program," said the letter of acknowledgment. And the postscript read: "The March-of-Time will change from the Red to the Blue Network on Friday, March 19th. I hope you will want to advise your readers."

The clippings were very satisfactory.

There is a strategy of association. The testimonial is an ancient (but not always honorable) example. Its use gives the seller an opportunity to present his case through another's voice, always a more effective technique than self-adulation. Inherent in our culture is a healthy national tendency to mutter "Sez you!" when anyone arises to propound his own virtues. The testimonial changes the comment to a second-level cynicism—"Sez him, about you!"—a step in the right direction. And it substitutes as the object of the reader's possible identification a person for a thing—a person (presumably) with whom the reader would very much like to be identified.

This is clearly demonstrated in the case of the new product or service that lines up an array of testimonials from established, respected leaders in education, art, public life—or in the special field served by the advertiser. Thus the product, itself young and relatively untried, gains the appearance of maturity through its espousal by the mature.

The opposite situation is frequently encountered, wherein a long-established product discovers that it is being outsold by its competitors among the younger elements of its markets. Tomorrow these younger prospects will be older prospects, and by that time the product's present customers will have passed on beyond the range of any selling. To correct such a condition, a lot more than testimonials is often required; a whole new personality may have to be built into and around the product, involving new package design, a fresh merchandising approach, even a revised system of distribution and selling.

But testimonials from outstanding examples of the younger type of buyer can play an important part.

Sometimes the testimonial is made public by the beneficiary—sometimes the source of the testimonial makes the statement public himself—for reasons of his own.

An excellent example of this latter technique hit the advertising world in the summer of 1950. Men throughout advertising in a position to purchase or influence the purchase of advertising pages began receiving letters at about two-week intervals *on the letterheads of companies currently advertising in the* Playbill.

The letters, usually signed by the advertising managers, briefly stated the reasons why these executives were advertising in the *Playbill*, and outlined the results of that advertising.

The effect was excellent, although a really complex relationship existed among (a) the *Playbill*, (b) the advertisers, and (c) the recipients of the letters, executives in the New York advertising agencies.

The co-operating *Playbill* advertisers were largely hotels, department and men's wear stores, producers of Broadway plays, etc. They were willing to testify to *Playbill's* advertising effectiveness on their own letterheads mainly because by so doing they put their names and advertisements before some of their best New York customers, the executives in Madison Avenue's advertising agencies. On the other hand, the letters were read by the agency men because they represented an unusual advertising act, and because many of the signers were advertis-

ing accounts the agencies were either handling or trying to get. And, of course, *Playbill* profited all up and down the line.

A fairly simple and certainly obvious use of the strategy of association can be seen in the advertisements for Cannon hosiery currently appearing in large circulation magazines.

Cannon Mills has for many years been well known for its towels and sheets, but would the mere introduction of a hosiery by Cannon cash in on this recognition?

Probably not, the reasoning went, for hosiery is a business very different from towels and sheets—and more than merely the use of the name "Cannon" would have to be enlisted if the advantages of association with the sheets and towels were to be used fully.

And so the advertisements for Cannon hosiery make quite a display of the towels and sheets also—saying clearly to every reader, "See! These are quality hose—the same kind of quality as the towels and sheets we've been making so successfully for so many years."

An interesting example of the strategy of both *association* and *disassociation* occurred at *Time* in the spring of 1953.

Time, in a sense, is a national newspaper, but the strength of any newspaper lies in the depth and power of its local impact.

For many years the magazine had been looking for a way to *associate* itself with local communities across the nation, when, finally, this plan was evolved.

The procedure was simplicity itself. *Time* approached the Chamber of Commerce of Atlanta, Georgia (the

city selected as the first of many)—and offered to finance and execute a campaign addressed to the citizens of Atlanta, aiming to discover and identify the one hundred young men resident in that city who might most be expected to be its leaders in the future.

The only reward *Time* wanted for its investment was to be *associated* with the program. All public announcements were signed, "The Committee for Atlanta's Future—co-sponsored by the Atlanta Chamber of Commerce and *Time*, The Weekly Newsmagazine." In printed material, the seal of the Chamber was appended side by side with a smaller cover of *Time*.

Inasmuch as the sole subject of the drive was Atlanta itself, the result was to associate *Time* with Atlanta in a very real and intimate way.

But there was one factor in the plan with which *Time* could not and should not have been associated, and the discussion of that factor brings us to:

The strategy of disassociation. Obviously, it was essential that *Time* should have nothing to do with the actual selection of the hundred young men. To disassociate itself from the function of selection, it was suggested that the Chamber of Commerce appoint a Panel of Twelve, made up of elder statesmen, to be solely responsible for selecting the hundred. This panel consisted of men in medicine, the arts, education, business, etc., of such elevation and achievement that none save the most embittered could question their integrity.

To this body (named in every public announcement) the public was invited to send nominations and

supporting evidence—although it was made crystal clear that the final selection was not to be a matter of popular vote, but exclusively one of judgment exercised by the Panel of Twelve.

In this way not only *Time* but the Chamber also was armored against public criticism, disassociated from the delicate business of making the final selection—and the matter placed in the hands of a body recognized as worthy of the task.

The strategy of disassociation is, of course, often used in contests wherein a sponsor may be expected to have a selfish interest in the selection of the winners. The appointment of an outside jury is the accepted and most effective way of disarming criticism and, at the same time, adding an element of strength. For in line with the strategy of association, such an appointment identifies the sponsor with a group of distinguished people.

It is essential, however, that the jury be appointed with complete objectivity and realism—combining in their persons, titles and reputations, not only the technical judgment and skill required for the awarding of the honor, but also *acceptance by the public*, the essential ingredient if unfriendly criticism is to be disarmed. Too hurried or superficial a selection of jurors may boomerang later, and undo all the good that the contest may have engendered for the sponsor.

There is a strategy of the crossroads. History is studded with instances which show the wisdom of staking out a claim (or taking a position) where two forces meet.

All over America, great cities have sprung up at the

junctions of rivers, railroads, highways—and, of course, where rivers meet the sea. The trading post where civilization meets the wilderness, and the country store where the Ridgebury Road crosses the Allegheny Turnpike: thousands of enterprises at junctions like these have grown into great institutions whose names are rooted in America's vocabulary.

There are other crossroads, however, crossroads of power which are not always as crisply visible on maps and charts as their prototypes.

The personnel director works at a power crossroads; he stands where management and its employees meet, interpreting the ideas of one to the other. The foreman (probably native) on a plantation in the Malay Peninsula is a highly valued and strategically situated employee. His power grows out of a double interpretative function, one of language as well as ideas. And, of course, the public relations executive, interpreting the corporation to its publics, is not an example to be overlooked in this volume.

The strategy of the crossroads involves the careful execution of a deliberate plan to situate one's self, one's organization, or one's project at a confluence of forces—with advantages realistically anticipated and risks consciously taken.

Much has been written about the recent tendency of young people in business to draw back from opportunity and nestle into security. This trend is disturbingly apparent in a type of complaint I have heard increasingly of recent years: "How can I get anything done with two bosses checking on me all the time?"

It is when a man reaches a position where more than

one boss is watching him that his first real opportunity may present itself. It is then, for the first time in many cases, that he can start working on projects of his own, instead of barely keeping up with assignments and duties which control all his working hours.

Once he has two or more superiors of relatively equal status, no one of them can feel he has full right to the employee's time.

Consequently, the lucky underling will, if he handles himself intelligently, find he has more instead of less time —and grows to be more instead of less useful to each of his bosses, not only in terms of production but also as an interpreter of each to each.

Contrast this situation with that of a friend of mine, who a few years back, accepted the proposal of the president of his company that he become prexy's personal assistant. He had been running various individual operations of his own which intruded upon the areas of several powerful top executives of the company. His life was harried, but he was working it all out. The offer from the top man must have come at a moment when he was especially bruised by a series of recent difficulties, and he accepted it.

Not long ago I lunched with him and asked him how things were going.

"Well," said Bob, "it's like being in the armpit of God. Safe, but awfully humid."

The strategy of the crossroads dictates the presence of *Time* (and other magazines) at certain trade conventions. As an example, consider the annual assemblage of the American Society of Travel Agents. To this convention come, on the one hand, eminent officials of the car-

riers and the tourist and resort interests (the railroads and airlines, the Bermuda Board of Trade, the luxurious Greenbrier at White Sulphur Springs, for example). They are "associate members" of the Society—and *all are advertisers or potential advertisers* in *Time.*

The great majority of those attending, however, are travel agents from all over the country, the men whose local organizations will buy your tickets, make your reservations and route you (the best way you can afford) a hundred miles from home or around the world. These are *neither actual nor potential advertisers* in any national magazine of large circulation.

But the travel agent is a much-courted individual by the big national travel advertiser. And the advertiser is (needless to say) much courted by the national magazines.

The comments made by travel agents about the advertising of the great carrier and resort companies are carefully heeded by the officials of these companies. By and large, they will advertise where the travel agents think they should, if at all practical. But every local agent will urge a national advertiser to spend all his appropriation in the local newspapers or in other ways inside the town where the agent operates. No advertiser, however, has enough money to do this all across the United States, and so national media are favored, which go into every town and help create sales for everybody. But *which* media?

At this crossroads of power, where the advertiser and the agents meet, *Time* takes its stand. The magazine builds an exhibit, staffs it with intelligent, persuasive but

self-disciplined people, and tells its story—to the advertisers (when they are around) but mostly to the agent so that he will be for *Time* when the subject of advertising comes up between him and the advertiser.

The junctional nature of this tactic is especially clear in the case of advertisers who are already publishing their messages in *Time*. What *Time* is doing here is to interpret to the agent (the advertiser's customer) the reasons why the advertiser has chosen *Time* as the vehicle to carry its campaign—and to the advertiser the reactions of the agents.

There is a strategy of personalization. It is based on the universal truth that people like people more than things—and it is used constantly in promotion, advertising and public relations.

The great Chrysler Corporation got its start through the expertly planned personalization of Walter P. Chrysler, whose picture and statements appeared in all of the early advertisements of the firm. The presence for many years of "A Letter from the Founder" in practically all the newspaper advertising of the John Wanamaker stores is another example. And "Ask Mr. Foster" is a phrase known to everyone who ever considered using a travel agency for a vacation trip.

Sometimes the personalization takes the form of an invented trade character (e.g., Planters' "Mr. Peanut") —or of an animal. An outstanding example of an animal used in this way is Borden's famous "Elsie."

That firm was originally composed of a group of associated local companies, most of whom were using their

own names in their selling. Personal pride and localized tradition combined to make them reluctant to change over to the Borden name. They felt, justifiably, that their names meant more in their territories than the unknown "Borden's."

Borden's top management wanted to encourage local responsibility and, consequently, did not want to force its name down the throats of its constituents. Besides, it knew that its own name suffered somewhat from the general feeling that it was an offspring of the Wall Street trusts, and seemed to have little real identity in the minds of its customers. It was felt, with some truth, that a mother could raise four children on Borden's Eagle Brand condensed milk, but never be especially conscious of the name—and certainly unaware of it when she went out to buy cheese.

In one stroke all of the three problems mentioned above were solved: the local companies gladly gave over —the name "Borden's" lost its cold, aloof Wall Street flavor, and mothers everywhere became conscious of the name "Borden's" and its association with cheese and milk products. The invention of "Elsie, the Cow" was indeed a "grand strategy."

The public loved Elsie, and by featuring her, Borden's became a more human organization. Elsie provided an "umbrella" under which many different products could be advertised. And she became such a strong promotional force at the local level that the local companies not only adopted her and the Borden name, but flocked to make use of national advertising material and plans featuring her—and later her husband and family.

The strategy of the fait accompli. This is one of the riskiest of strategies—and almost always has about it something of the flavor of revolution. In fact, practically every major political revolution in history has begun with a *fait accompli.*

At some point in the torsion between two forces, pressure builds up, and one side feels it is ready to put the matter to the test. Instead of proceeding, as before, with discussion and then agreement or compromise, the challenging side decides to take a calculated risk and acts without notification. At this point all hell breaks loose—and when finally the smoke clears, the gambler may be found stretched flat on his back. But if he has figured the odds correctly, he may find his adversary in that position.

In greater and less degree, the *fait accompli* is always with us. It was Hitler's favorite strategy: "Strike and then let's see what they do about it." As we know, to our sorrow, the Führer figured his odds well just before World War II—and the Sudetenland, Czechoslovakia, and the others all fell to him without challenge.

In business, this strategy is a favorite one with old and established employees who have operated for many years far from the home office. After a long period of long-distance argument with headquarters, they are likely to take the contested step on their own—and then announce by cable that they have done so. They know that they would be hard to replace, and they feel that, when the echoes die away, it will be decided back home that the offense was not heinous enough to warrant all the trouble involved in firing them and finding a successor. They take their gamble, and they often win.

Noted earlier in this chapter was the necessity in any strategy to anticipate your position in the event of possible failure as well as success. No pattern of thinking can be called truly strategic that fails to include some appraisal such as this: "Even if my project fails, I will be better off than if I had not attempted it, because I will at least have . . ." and the sentence concludes either: "at least have caused the opposition to spend money and man power they can ill afford," or "at least struck while I have a chance of winning, whereas if I wait longer I cannot possibly win," or even "at least have shown my superiors I am capable of acting on my own and that I am therefore a power to be reckoned with."

Master of this process (to our Republic's cost) is Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin, whose whole career is a history of successfully calculated risks. McCarthy's favorite double cross couples the strategy of the *fait accompli* with—

The strategy of the bland withdrawal. The New York *Herald Tribune*, in a recent editorial, described the Senator's peculiar and infuriating method as follows:

"This week's McCarthy controversy, over the arrangements with Greek ship owners, is chiefly noteworthy because it demonstrates and documents again the characteristic methods of the junior Senator from Wisconsin. . . .

"It soon became apparent that at most he had capped and publicized [the *fait accompli*] what the appropriate United States official had already brought about through prolonged dealings. Senator McCarthy thereupon began the process of retreat which is as much a part

of his customary strategy as is a first reckless advance [the bland withdrawal].

"Last week he had said at the end that he never called Mr. Bohlen a 'security risk.' This week he ended by denying that he had ever 'negotiated' or acted outside of senatorial bounds. His first press conference had clearly claimed negotiation. . . .

"Having gotten credit in the public mind, having created conflict and uncertainty within the government, Senator McCarthy—characteristically once more—has taken pleasure in affirming his innocence and meekness.

"Thus does the Senator from Wisconsin, even when he is beaten, seek to extract a last drop of advantage from his exploits."

Retractions and corrections never get as much attention in the press as does the original sensational statement—and it is on this fact that McCarthy builds.

Ill-advised advertisers will occasionally attempt the same combination of strategies. It seldom works, and the eventual fate of such jugglers with the public weal constitutes, let us hope, the writing on the wall for the Senator.

In too many conference rooms, too many companies decide to go on the record in their advertising with statements that cannot be backed up. There is a rash of such appearances every time a new kind of product is offered to the public—and each wave of the pestilence hurts advertising more, by undermining public confidence in all advertising.

The overt or tacit reasoning of these fly-by-night advertisers goes something like this: "We'll say it—[the

fait accompli]—and when they catch up with us, we'll change our copy—[the bland withdrawal]. But meanwhile our market will have bought a lot of our product, and ever afterwards they will think of us as performing what we promised!"

Some of the less reputable firms selling hair dyes, soil conditioners, trick paints that "seal out moisture" have got away with this double cross, but it is comforting to realize that most such companies do not survive, and leave the field to those whose advertising has taken the slower, truthful way.

Nevertheless, these two strategies, *fait accompli* and bland withdrawal, continue to tempt the unprincipled and unwise; and some of their statements keep appearing despite the vigilance of America's advertising media, almost all of which have established and try hard to enforce strict censorship on any advertising messages they carry.

Not to be confused with the strategy of the bland withdrawal is our next exhibit. The differences are a great deal more important than just the altered adjective may indicate.

The strategy of the apparent withdrawal. It is not given to everyone to be so constituted that he may employ this strategy. It requires a minimum of self-deception, a maximum of self-discipline, and a great capacity for forbearance (*see* page 104).

The pre-World War II Japanese were masters of the strategy of apparent withdrawal—and, for that matter, they probably still are. In Frank Gibney's superb book, *Five Gentlemen of Japan*, he gives, in a footnote on page

46, an example of this technique which may well be one of the most outstanding in all history. Says Gibney:

"The reign of the Emperor Shirakawa . . . is an extreme example of the Japanese passion for governing indirectly. In 1073, at the age of twenty, Shirakawa became emperor. Thirteen years later he abdicated and went into retirement. From his secluded court, however, the ex-emperor continued to rule Japan. His son Horikawa, reigned from 1087 to 1107; his grandson, Toba, from 1107 to 1123; his great-grandson Sutoku, from 1124 to 1141: they were all powerless puppets. Until his death in 1141, Shirakawa, the 'Cloistered Emperor,' and his courtiers ran the affairs of the nation from behind the scenes."

In the soul of the man (or nation or corporation) employing apparent withdrawal as a means to an end, there must be some of the unemotional, tunnel-visioned determination attributed to Julius Caesar who, when asked if he had no desire for vengeance, is said to have answered: "Vengeance? What have I to do with vengeance? *My* only purpose is to conquer the world."

The advantages of withdrawal without abdication are many and profound. Such a move disarms a great many critics and puts the mover into a position where his wisdom can operate in relative serenity insulated from the alarums and excursions of day-to-day tactics. It helps him to conserve his vigor for major issues and to mask his position on many questions behind an apparent neutrality, thus rendering him approachable by many who would never have come to him in his days as "a power on the stage."

Apparent withdrawal is not usually employed early

in any career—if for no other reason than the essential one that it takes a long time to select and train the men to be left behind in apparent control, the men with the active titles. To desert the battlefield for statecraft prematurely is often to take a one-way street to limbo and eventual expulsion. But to linger too long on the battlefield may be just as deadly—and even more painful.

The annals of business are filled with examples of men who, from "retirement," ran industrial empires with an effectiveness they could not have applied were they openly in control. They are, however, greatly outnumbered by men who insisted upon staying in operation beyond their time—to the exasperation and disadvantage of their associates and to their own ultimate self-destruction.

There is another type of withdrawal which manifests itself frequently during bargaining periods, when one of the parties who has until then shown an eager interest in the proceedings, suddenly becomes cool, aloof, and uninterested. Whether this is an apparent or real withdrawal is a question the adversary must figure out. The risk is, of course, on both sides—for the bluff may be called (if it is a bluff), or a great loss may be sustained, if the withdrawal is real and is interpreted wrongly as a bluff.

Related to the strategy of apparent withdrawal is:

The strategy of the apparent runner-up. A beautiful example of this strategy occurred during the period of preparation of this piece. I had told two men in my department that I had accepted the assignment from Mr. Bernays to do a chapter on strategy for his next book. They are both literate and thoughtful men—and, though

appalled at my temerity, they expressed great interest. And so I asked them if they would like to put some of their thinking on paper for me. Shortly thereafter, I received a fine contribution from one of them—followed, almost at once, by a memorandum from the other.

"I understand," it read, "that Hall has rushed into print with some ideas of strategy. His speed is admirable, but I have decided to give this matter a little deeper thought before I submit anything for your possible use." In short, he announced, he was only the *apparent* runner-up!

This strategy figured prominently several years ago when *Time* was surveying scores of special groups asking them: "What in your opinion, is the most important magazine in America?"

All questionnaires were mailed on the letterheads of independent, outside research organizations—and the magazine had run up a long list of groups (leading architects, doctors, businessmen, educators, managing editors of newspapers, etc.) who voted *Time* their number one choice for this honor. To distribute the findings where they would do the most good was the next problem—but the list seemed too pompous and over-boastful to send out as it was.

"If only we were *second* with at least one group," we said to one another.

And so the Promotion Department employed the strategy of the apparent runner-up. A list of the managing editors of America's leading magazines was compiled—and a questionnaire was sent to each one. But the ques-

tion read: "What, in your opinion, is the *second* most important magazine in America?" *Time* was—and that survey was reported at the head of all the others.

Another example of the strategy of the apparent runner-up grows out of the history of Cluett, Peabody & Co., Inc. and their handling of the Sanforizing process. In this case (as in the others mentioned) what seemed to be the second most important factor turned out in the end to be the predominant factor.

For several years after the Sanforized invention, Cluett, Peabody collected royalties for its compressive shrinkage process when used by other firms. But machinery patents do not run on forever, and as the expiration date approached, Cluett, Peabody took several anticipatory steps to bring their second most valuable property to the fore.

They renegotiated their contracts so as to license the use of the Sanforized trade-mark on any cotton goods preshrunk via the Sanforizing process. Royalties for trademark use were, of course, lower than those for the machinery use—and Cluett, Peabody agreed to put no less than 35 per cent of their gross royalty income into national advertising space or time.

Meanwhile, they increased their own national advertising about threefold, thus building up a tremendous national attention for (and acceptance of) the Sanforized trade-mark.

Individual manufacturers planning to promote their own new trade-marks as soon as the machinery patents ran out, were thereby discouraged from doing so—and

the Sanforized trade-mark became the outstanding brand in the market, just as the Sanforizing process had been the top process.

There is the strategy of omission. One of the major purposes in awarding the myrtle wreath is to discomfit those who did not win, and spur them on to greater effort next time.

Envy is an ignoble quality, but its presence everywhere is manifest—and the strategist always takes it into consideration.

Every few months, *Time* compiles and distributes to the sales force a list of its members who have made use of certain merchandising materials available to all. On those salesmen who are not listed no pressure is applied. Nor need it be; they will be on the list next quarter.

Then there is the case of the grocery store whose wily proprietor lists not the names of those in arrears but of those who are paid up. The whole town deals at Gerhardt's, notes the names *not* listed, makes the obvious conclusion. It is an excellent device.

Many businesses hold to the ancient system of awarding individual bonuses on the basis not of statistical results but of "effort." This leaves the decision in management's hands—and the bonus may be withheld even when (on the record) a man deserves it. Thus a good but over-smug performer may be administered a rebuke via the strategy of omission.

The strategy shows up continually, in little as well as big ways. The boss gives a party—and you, who had been on his list for years, are not included. A client fails

to send you a personal Christmas card for the first time since 1945. The wife doesn't kiss you when you come home the night after the big quarrel. And President Eisenhower omits sending congratulations to the new dictator of Czechoslovakia.

In short, the withholding of an action can sometimes be as effective as a punitive action taken—and often less compromising. It *could* have been an oversight.

There is a strategy of reversal. One Humphrey B. Neill makes a tidy income from his comfortable home in Saxton's River, Vermont, by selling a monthly "Letter of Contrary Opinion" to business and other leaders.

The theory is a simple one—and it is continually being proved a sound one. Whenever popular opinion shows conclusively that a trend has set in, it is practically over, says Neill—and the reactions are probably taking place. On this thesis, the editor and sole owner of "Letter of Contrary Opinion" predicts the movements of the market and international affairs, of business and society with an excellent record of success.

Bernard Baruch is said to have attributed much of his wealth to his predilection for operating "on the short side"—another synonym for contrary opinion. And a fabulously successful friend of mine once said to me: "Only two kinds of people make money out of any public movement—the first ones in and the first ones out. The former group is merely reversing the preceding trend; the latter group is just copying the former."

Such a series of trends recently hit the pseudo-science of selling by direct mail. For several years the fashion was

to say that all selling letters were too long—and that the ideal letter never ran to more than one page. Then someone reversed that trend and, plagiarizing Abe Lincoln, compared the length of a selling letter to the length of a man's legs: "They should be long enough to reach the ground"—meaning they can be as long as they must be to make the point. This was a revolutionary idea for a while. Then it sank in, and longer and longer sales letters began to appear in the nation's mailboxes.

Recently *Time* reversed *that* trend—sent out a mailing that contained no letter at all—just an order card. The whole message was printed on the envelope—and this is how it read:

"A good many of history's masterpieces have been jotted on the backs of envelopes.

"Francis Scott Key wrote *The Star-Spangled Banner* on one, while a bombardment raged around him in Baltimore harbor. And legend has it that the *Gettysburg Address* was first scribbled on another.

"Business deals and battle plans and poems have been hurriedly written on scraps of paper no bigger than this.

"On the outside of *this* envelope is a practical message; on the inside is a profitable offer. All in all, this is something you ought to act on at once—if you want to stay up to date on the news . . ."

The strategy of the mosaic. Manet, Renoir, and the other Impressionists applied this strategy to art, with a success that needs no comment here. Theirs is a method of painting in which the colors are separated into their

component hues—and then are laid side by side (in pure color) to be recomposed in the eye of the observer. The purpose is to produce an effect of greater vibration and luminosity.

The strategy of the mosaic is a familiar one in war and business. The Soviet Union uses it masterfully in seeding Communist cells all over the free world. In many countries outside the Iron Curtain, there are relatively few such cells, but as they are discovered in this city and that across a nation, the isolated cases are "recomposed in the eye of the observer"—and from the point of view of the Kremlin, "an effect of great vibration and luminosity" is achieved, with resultant confusion in the land of the enemy.

Similarly, a wise strategist can create such an effect in business by hand-picking dealers, distributors, agents (let us say) in skillfully selected areas—and obtaining from them testimonials for his product or service. When presented side by side, the effect is as if all dealers agree that the product is best, for the components fuse in the eye of the beholder and create a most convincing general image.

The strategy of the mosaic is not necessarily a deception, although too often it is used as such. In its positive and most effective form, it presents a random sample, showing how the whole would react were it possible to report on the whole. A good example is the way in which *Time* regularly proves to the advertising world that the magazine has "merchandising appeal."

Advertisers of consumer goods tend to think of *Time* as a man's magazine, although almost as many women as

men read *Time* each week. These advertisers are interested in reaching women, for women do most of the buying for their families. Department stores are admittedly the merchandisers most adept at attracting women, and so every year *Time* offers certain display and promotional material to a few department stores across the nation to use in connection with their own selling of household appliances, luggage, furnishings, and other categories of merchandise.

The fact that these wily seducers of womenkind pick up and use this material carrying *Time's* name and reproducing *Time's* cover indicates that they feel *Time* has definite appeal for certain women they are most anxious to get and keep as customers (their charge accounts, for example).

Pictures of these windows and reports from the store officials are then shown to consumer advertisers, who for the most part, agree that if these stores are willing to invest valuable interior and window space (plus, in many cases, their own promotion money) in bringing *Time* to the attention of their feminine trade, then *Time* must indeed attract women.

Only thirty to fifty stores are sampled in this way in any year, for the cost to *Time* of approaching all stores in this way would be prohibitive. But the result of reporting on a relatively few stores year after year, has gone far toward persuading advertisers that the others would be equally prompt to co-operate were the material offered to them. These few stores "recompose in the eye of the observer" and "produce an effect of vibration and luminosity."

The strategy of the understatement. During the 1920's, a literary period when lush descriptions were the overwhelming rule, James Branch Cabell made quite a stir with his mannered use of euphemism. The phrase "she was not unbeautiful" in one form or another was found continually on the lips of the swashbuckling young and not so young men who populated his novels—and it became to a degree, Cabell's trade-mark. It indicated, of course, a condition of stunning pulchritude.

In these latter days, the strategy of the understatement still finds an environment ready to reward it. Sometimes the understatement is tangential, makes only an oblique angle with the subject at hand. This was the case when a certain brilliant head of a Detroit advertising agency was asked by the new president of a company, which was an old and valued client, to "evidence an interest in the account." He scorned the direct answer, secure in his feeling that his long record of service to the client spoke for itself, and that it made the inquiry impertinent.

He and his associates were summoned to a meeting in the new president's office where, for two hours (goes the story) and on a beautiful fall Saturday with the deer season just begun, they were harangued at and exposed to a lot of talk whose only purpose seemed to be the assertion of prexy's personality. At long last the orator came to the end of his opus, paused and fixed our hero with a steely eye.

"Any questions?" he asked.

"Yes," said this master of strategy, and pointed to the wall across from him. "Who shot that moose?"—and

there and then established the independence of his attitude—not by reproach but by indirection.

Understatement must usually, however, be much more direct than this to be effective—and it depends for its result on everyone realizing that it *is* an understatement. In a speech or a personal conversation, tone of voice can shoulder the burden, but in cold type, understatement is often taken at its face value. Here it is deadly to over-estimate the sophistication of the audience. "Just a darned good car," even when applied to a Cadillac, will puzzle a great many natural prospects who will feel that if it's just a darned good car, why does it cost so darned much. Be very sure your market knows that you have chalked up a towering record before you decide to announce modestly, "We've done pretty well this year."

The ethics of strategy. It was pointed out early in this chapter that the essence of strategy is to make realistic use not only of the truths in which humanity believes but also of the untruths which, in general, are believed even more widely—and often more firmly than the truths.

Karl Menninger was quoted as reporting a statement by an advertising executive that reasonable appeals get advertisements nowhere; Pareto's theory of the non-logical nature of man's actions and beliefs was briefly noted, as was Bernard Baruch's life-long habit of operating "on the short side," or contrary to the public's estimate of what is happening.

It may be said that to take advantage of a man's credulity, to exploit his misapprehensions, to capitalize

on his ignorance is morally reprehensible—and this may well be the case.

Nor can the situation be made more palatable by emphasizing that the purpose for which the strategy is employed (the end) far transcends the importance of the means. For this will not set well with a conviction held by men of good will everywhere, that the means are all that matter because no one can surely know the end. How, we ask ourselves, can a house built upon injustice stand and prosper unless the world in which it stands be also dedicated to injustice? And this we refuse to believe of our world.

Where, then, does the author of this chapter stand on these difficult and reproachful questions? I do not quite know—and I am neither contented nor arrogant in that unsatisfactory answer.

But this should be said: *a strategy is an instrument for winning*. And this is so in exactly the same sense that a tank is an instrument for winning a war, or a traveling crane for winning a battle with a competing contractor. Business and, for that matter, competitive games, are merely peace-time forms of war, and they require for their successful waging strongly founded strategies.

The tank commander and his general, the operator of the crane and his boss, both of them, like the strategist, must make their own terms with their own consciences.

I cannot help them there. This has been a chapter on strategies, not strategists.

Themes and Symbols

Doris E. Fleischman and *Howard Walden Cutler*

"THEMES" AS APPLIED to public relations are comparable to what in fiction is called the story line. Patriotism, for example, is a theme running throughout every effort to unite support for a war effort. Security in old age is a basic theme of many of the efforts to promote thrift accounts. Themes are concepts.

A symbol, in the sense it is used in public relations, is the representative of a theme. It has nowhere been better defined than by R. M. MacIver, Lieber professor emeritus of political philosophy and sociology, Columbia University. In his foreword to "Symbols and Values: An Initial Study,"[1] Professor MacIver states that they are used to evoke "a mood or attitude with respect to an already given referent." They are, he says, "intended to convey a sense of dignity, amplitude, importance, honor, fear, reverence, awe, . . . or whatever other feeling is re-

[1] The subject of the Thirteenth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy, and Religion.

garded as proper to the occasion." Symbols, in this sense, can take almost any form—persons, actions, pictures, slogans, etc. The queen of England is the symbol of Commonwealth solidarity. Lindbergh's flight across the Atlantic symbolizes many things—among others, youth's adventurous spirit, man's triumph over nature. "The Angelus" is a picture symbolizing faith and peace.

The whole subject of themes and symbols is a fascinating study of human motivation and reaction to stimuli. Naturally, neither subject can be treated exhaustively in one chapter of a book, since volumes have been written on symbols alone. However, some salient facts may stimulate thought and be of aid in developing fundamental public relations techniques.

Themes and motivation—their relation

Themes must appeal to basic human motivations if they are to be employed successfully. As is pointed out in Edward L. Bernays' book, *Public Relations*,[1] motives are the conscious and subconscious pressures created by the force of desires. Psychologists have isolated a number of compelling appeals, the validity of which has been repeatedly proved in practical application. Self-preservation, ambition, pride, hunger, love of family and children, patriotism, imitativeness, the desire to be a leader, love of play—these and other drives are the psychological raw materials which every leader must take into account in his endeavor to win the public to his point of view.

Motivation is not as apparent as it may seem. For example, you buy a certain automobile. You may think

[1] Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1952.

that the reason you do so is basically that you want a car. But the real motivation lies deeper—in why you want the car—a desire for prestige, or a desire to vent aggressions through fast driving, or for many other fundamental urges, singly or in combination.

It used to be thought that there were only a few basic human drives or motivations—hunger, sex, fear, etc. Now, as noted above, social scientists recognize that motivation is a far more complex question than was formerly supposed.

A fascinating instance of individual drive is the constant effort to protect the ego. To maintain their self-assurance, most people need to feel certain that whatever they believe about anything is true. People, generally speaking, believe only what they want to believe. Facts that do not fit in with their beliefs are rejected or explained away. Even exposure to contrary experience may not be convincing. It has been proven that firsthand experience can be rejected and that even when contrary truth is admitted a previous attitude towards a situation may not change.

In short, people believe what they have been conditioned to believe. They react in terms of their culture pattern and personality. As has been proven time and again, telling a man a truth he rejects may only make him more set in his ways. It may, indeed, make him more determined to disbelieve what you say.

Let us look at how themes are used to stimulate actions which spring from such basic motivations.

An article in the *Public Opinion Quarterly* some years ago[8] analyzed techniques of institutional advertis-

ing, with particular reference to radio commercials. In the course thereof, the authors classified the publics in terms of beneficiaries as "(1) individuals in the audience; (2) sub-groups of the population; (3) sacred social institutions and values; and (4) the society as a whole." These same divisions, with slight variations in nomenclature, are readily adaptable to our purpose here.

We will divide themes into these four principal groups and consider them from various angles:

1. *Themes for the individual*

Themes may be thought of in terms of arousing various individual satisfaction desires.

Themes may be directed toward the individual's economic motivations. "Long wearing" is a theme appealing to the desire to be thrifty. "$3.79 marked down from $4.00" arouses the individual's love of a bargain. "Save for a rainy day" appeals to the desire for security. The phrase, "The Quality Store," seeks to offset the love of a bargain with the desire for high, intrinsic value.

The individual's need for comfort and pleasure may be the basis for one thematic grouping. Hotel literature stresses good beds to appeal to the first.

There are themes based on individual desire for safety. Swimming classes have this basic appeal. Auto driving classes use this theme. Boat drill on shipboard conveys this theme to the nervous passenger.

Themes, to be effective, do not have to be positive.

[8] Leonard I. Pearlin and Morris Rosenberg, "Propaganda Techniques In Institutional Advertising," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XVI, No. 1 (Spring, 1952).

The negative approach arouses fear and simultaneously shows how to triumph. Deodorant promotion is a prime example. It arouses the psychological fear of unpopularity and exorcises it by showing how you may avoid embarrassment. On a much higher plane, the danger of flunking can be used to goad the student to greater application to his books.

2. *Themes for sub-groups*

Themes also mesh in with sub-group attitudes. By sub-groups, we mean not only organized segments of society (such as the army, industrial associations, patriotic societies, and the like) but also those great informal groupings to which people belong simply by virtue of some trait of character, age, sex, environment, activity, or something else. Such informal groups are numberless. Everyone can think of dozens offhand. And, of course, they interlock, crisscross, and overlap in every possible direction. To name but a few, there are mothers, homemakers, husbands, wives, widows, fishermen, bankers, butchers, gardeners, cafe society leaders, airplane pilots, nature lovers, athletes, bibliophiles, teenagers, statesmen, ethnic groups, and campers.

Broadly speaking, the members of each group have certain motivation urges in common, however distinctly individualistic they may be otherwise. Therefore, certain themes can be projected to a given group with the certainty that a majority will respond.

For example, purity in milk, monthly health check-ups for infants, educational toys, appeal to mother love with its motivating desire to protect and help the young.

If, on the other hand, we consider themes that may be expected to appeal to a professional group, such as lawyers, we search for those which stress status, dedicated effort, respectability, orderliness, continuity, and the like.

Themes of good government appeal to such formally organized groups as the League of Women Voters. The theme of better schools to make better citizens appeals to the P-TA.

3. *Themes for the basic social unit*

Closely allied in many ways to the group-satisfaction themes are those which we classify according to their appeal to the basic unit of society—the family. These themes are, of course, particularly powerful in areas or in social strata where the family still occupies a potent position. Conversely, their appeal weakens whenever and wherever the family tie is less dominant as an influence. Home real-estate promotion talks of added satisfactions to family living. Insurance selling stresses financial security for the family. The psychological satisfactions stemming from obedience to family mores and sanctions are emphasized from the pulpit. Product promotion with advertising showing the happy family group about the TV set on a dark and stormy night is using a theme directed toward the age-old instinct of group safety and comfort within the family circle.

4. *Themes for over-all publics*

In addition to individuals, sub-groups of society, organized and unorganized, and basic units such as the family, there is the over-all public, made up of all those parts

which have certain common yearnings and motivations toward which appropriate themes can be directed. Western civilization, for example, despite its tremendous national variations, rests on such universally held desires as love of liberty and justice.

Choice of themes

We have now considered themes under four broad and somewhat arbitrary classifications—those directed to the individual, to sub-groups of society, to basic units of society, to the over-all public. We note that they are used to create a variety of responses and that their effectiveness lies in their arousing some human emotion. One of the strongest emotional reactions is the tendency to attribute human characteristics to inanimate objects and incorporeal concepts. Myths of the Greeks, Romans, and American Indians are full of examples. Our modern language is replete with phrases of like import—consider the best seller title, *The Cruel Sea.*

That characteristic of the mind gives rise to one of the most interesting uses of themes—the power to create support for ideas and institutions by personalizing and humanizing them. In terms of an educational institution, consider the profound emotional implications in the thematic phrase "alma mater"—fostering mother.

This power of personalizing is applicable to profit as well as non-profit institutions. One of the principal activities of industrial public relations is to "humanize" a corporation. By so doing, it is easier to show coincidence of the corporate and the individual private interest. Just

how this is accomplished will be considered in some detail when we discuss the use of symbols.

Since the effectiveness of themes depends on their power to arouse specific satisfaction drives, their selection should be a matter of considered thought and judgment. In recent years, social scientists have done a vast amount of research pertaining to motivation and the response stimuli thereof. Consequently, it is both unnecessary and wasteful to select and project themes merely on hunch and guesswork. Careful advance study of the findings of anthropologists, sociologists, social psychologists, and representatives of similar disciplines will enable the public relations practitioner to chart his thematic approach.

In selecting themes and plotting their use, it is important to remember that almost every project lends itself to projection through a variety of themes. Despite the value of reiteration, it is frequently advisable to vary the themes directed toward a specified public. When one wants to influence several different publics, it is essential to use a variety of themes simultaneously.

In every campaign there are almost sure to be major and minor themes which are projected simultaneously to the appropriate publics. For example, the major theme of a campaign to increase savings bank accounts would probably be security in old age. But there would be a host of minor themes, such as added comfort, pleasure, ready funds for business expansion, nest egg for home building, and so on.

Symbols

Let us now turn to symbols, their selection and use to project, personify, and highlight themes.

As man's ingenuity has devised new ways of communication or extended the field of influence of older forms, there has been a tremendous increase in the number of people who can be brought within the influence of a given symbol at a given time. Consider, for example, the comparative numbers who could see the crown of England, symbol of sovereignty, placed on the head of Elizabeth I, as against the millions who by television or motion picture saw the coronation of the second Elizabeth.

This modern ability to contact millions of people at one time, by newspapers, by radio, by television, by motion pictures, places a great responsibility on the public relations practitioner, since good or evil can be done on a scale never before possible in a very short time. As responsibility has increased, so, too, has opportunity. Consequently the correct use of themes and choice of symbols becomes ever increasingly important, for on them depends in great part the effectiveness of the message. Symbols have been created for every activity and institution. If themes are countless, symbols are even more so, for every theme is capable of projection through a variety of symbols.

Symbols and personal themes

For example, take themes seeking to arouse desire for hunger assuagement, taste goodness, smell titillation, touch pleasure. Many symbols can be employed to clothe

these themes. Any family feast pictured in a Thanksgiving food advertisement symbolizes hunger satisfaction. In the nursery the verse about little Jack Horner carries the hunger assuagement motif. All Dickens' books are full of feasts described in such mouth-watering terms that the reader begins to feel hungry as he reads. As for taste goodness—the French chef, the smacking of a small boy's lips in a movie comedy, the picture of a tall glass filled with an ice-cooled drink, each carries the theme in appropriate instances. A balsam pillow can symbolize all the fragrance of the north woods. The picture of a perfume bottle carries implications of satisfying scent. Symbols of touch pleasure include references to the touch of a mother's hand, indicative of tenderness; pictures of women stroking soft fabrics; a cat rubbing its back; motion picture close-ups showing boy kissing girl.

Economic themes—thrift, security, love of bargains—are symbolized in pictures and slogans. "Safe as the Rock of Gibraltar" is familiar. The massive architecture of old-style bank buildings is a conscious use of architecture to symbolize stability, long-term security, etc. Pictures of happy couples of middle age and over on vacation imply the happy results of saving. "Wears like iron" symbolizes quality in wearing apparel by reference to the qualities of a product in a totally different field. The fable of the ant and the grasshopper is, of course, the classic symbol to point the virtues of thrift.

When we consider symbols expressing themes of individual comfort and pleasure, we have a field ranging all the way from the girl in the Bikini bathing suit to the C. & O.'s famous cat, Chessy. Father in his slippered ease

symbolizes the comfort of home. The blazing hearth signifies winter comfort, the recumbent figure in the hammock that of summer. The jester's cap and bells were traditional symbols of merriment and laughter. Wedding bells signify joy just as the tolling bell signifies the opposite.

The nurse's uniform is a symbol of competent care in illness. Home itself is the symbol of safety towards which most persons turn instinctively, either physically or psychologically, in times of trouble, distress, or danger.

Under personal themes we discussed those directed to psychological satisfactions. Small gold footballs awarded to varsity lettermen are much cherished symbols to those who seek personal recognition through athletic achievement. Phi Beta Kappa symbolizes achievement through intellectual endeavor. Country club membership may symbolize social acceptance to some, while to others it has no importance. A new car every year symbolizes status satisfaction for some men. When the baseball hero autographs a ball for the sandlot boy, the youngster has received a symbol of self-identification with one who represents the ultimate glory.

Symbols and sub-group themes

In considering themes appealing to professional men, we noted particularly those of status, dedicated effort, respectability, orderliness and continuity. Symbols of these characteristics include leaders in each of the fields. Other symbols are the judges' robes, the bishop's hat, the green cross on doctors' cars, the Hippocratic oath of the medical profession. Age itself, whether of an institution or a

man, is frequently a powerful symbol in the professional world. The dedicated laboratory technician symbolizes the modern approach to medicine. All religious symbolism exercises a powerful effect both upon the clergy and upon the communicants. This is true whether we think of the Pope in pontifical regalia within the splendors of the Sistine Chapel or Quakers in sober garb in their plain meeting houses.

In education and its relationship to good government, the Little Red School was for many years the top symbol.

As for political parties, two great cartoon symbols immediately occur to everyone—the donkey and the elephant. Other examples are Abraham Lincoln as the personification of justice to all regardless of race; Andrew Jackson, the symbol of democratic mass rule; and Teapot Dome, standing for corruption. The full dinner pail was in its day a powerful symbol. The "smoke-filled room" phrase evokes a definite picture of political chicanery in every mind.

Symbols of the family

When we think of symbols suitable to evoking themes of family life, what an infinite variety rises to mind! The light in the window, the Christmas reunion, the family blessing at table, the family car loaded for a picnic, parents at the bedside of a sick child, dogs and children playing on a lawn. Each one of us can add a thousand more valid evocations in this field. All highlight the themes of safety, comfort, pleasure, encompassed within the family circle.

Symbols for the over-all public

Themes of appeal to broad publics, national[4] and international, have their corresponding symbols, too. The Statue of Liberty stands for hope and opportunity for the downtrodden and oppressed. George Washington, Joan of Arc, and Gandhi embody selfless patriotism. The Alamo, the Pass at Thermopylae, the charge of the Light Brigade, Dunkirk, and Iwo Jima picture courage incarnate. The Bastille symbolizes the triumph of the common man over tyranny. Winston Churchill in the dark days of war symbolized not only the courage and steadfastness of his nation but of democratic peoples everywhere. The United Nations organization symbolizes man's hope for a better world based on unity and cooperative effort.

Techniques of symbol use

It is not enough merely to find the right symbols to carry the theme. Unless correct techniques are employed in their projection, they may backfire and have the opposite effect from that intended. This is particularly apt to happen if a symbol valid for one group is thoughtlessly projected to a different public, in the general belief that what is good for one is good for another. For example, if you were raising money for a home for aged musicians, you might decide to send out letters of appeal over the signatures of various leaders in the musical world. To certain groups, a letter from Toscanini would exercise real influence. On other groups, one from Duke Ellington would

[4] In *Speak Up for Democracy,* by Edward L. Bernays, is an extensive, though by no means exhaustive list of United States national symbols. Some of these are reprinted at the close of this chapter.

be equally effective. But reverse the groups to which the two letters are sent and the results might well be negative if not worse.

Most symbols can be projected in several different ways. The choice of method or methods is determined in some cases by availability or suitability of media, in others by consideration of the group to be reached.

The correct choice and use of symbols in humanizing a corporation or an institution is extremely important. So much emphasis is placed on this humanizing process today because the impersonal and coldly efficient corporation grows continually more vulnerable in the modern climate of opinion. Unless the coincidence of its private interest and that of the public can be made clear to the average citizen, a corporation is in danger of becoming a whipping boy for any vocal segment of the population.

The public relations effort is therefore to overcome opposition with a reasoned presentation of true facts and to establish a modus vivendi that will insure optimum advantage to all parties.

The president's acceptance of membership on advisory boards of national importance—such as those set up by the national government—indicates corporate interest in the national welfare. Speaking engagements of plant managers before local service groups highlight management's civic-mindedness. Contributions to university research symbolize interest in advancing mankind's knowledge. Establishment of scholarships symbolizes interest in youth education. The charts, pictures, and human-interest angles of literature sent to stockholders symbolizes corporate attitudes and activities.

All of these symbol-projected themes—civic-mindedness, interest in education and youth, and the like, together with many others of similar import—gradually form a composite and favorable picture in the public mind if two conditions are satisfied. The first condition is that the themes and symbolic actions be properly and continuously publicized. The second, and far more fundamental, condition is that the themes and symbols together represent a true picture of corporate thinking and action. A corporation cannot build an employees' swimming pool with its left hand and try and cut wages with its right, if it hopes to win friends and influence people. Neither can its president go around mouthing free enterprise platitudes and hope to win corporate reputation as a defender of competition, if at the same time the company obviously indulges in monopolistic practices. By their deeds they shall be known. A symbol that has no substance behind it cannot fool the public for long.

Another aspect of the correct use of symbols is keeping a watchful eye out for changing values. The hat design which last year symbolized the ultimate in chic, is now "old hat" in more ways than one. There was once a very popular soap named "Fairy." Changing connotations would rule that out as an acceptable trade name today.

Likewise, it is important to be on the lookout for the appearance of new symbols adaptable to your purpose. The rise of new sports stars is an instance of this if you are selling athletic equipment. If you are interested in promoting national recognition of nursing problems, you find a new attention symbol when Mlle Genevieve

de Galard-Terraube suddenly becomes known the world over as the "Angel of Dien Bien Phu."

A great aid in symbol projection is the fact that a given symbol can often be employed for different themes. For example, George Washington can represent both patriotism and self-sacrifice. A kitten can stand for comfort as the C. & O. Chessy does, or it can represent playfulness, or the touch of its fur can be equated with softness. The famous charge at Balaclava by the gallant six hundred is simultaneously a symbol of high courage and of incredible stupidity.

Whether or not the connection between theme and symbol should be hammered home or lightly touched on, or even left to implication only is a matter for separate decision in each instance. The subject matter would have a bearing on this. The particular audience you seek considerably influences the decision. For example, children of the primary grades need a straight line connecting theme and symbol. The sophisticated audience, on the other hand, is probably best influenced by leaving much to implication. Aesop's fables with the moral tacked on to the end and the typical fashion or perfume ad in *The New Yorker* represent the two schools of approach.

Space limitations have, of necessity, permitted only a brief and cursory survey of this whole subject of themes and symbols as they pertain to public relations practice. It has been impossible even to touch upon their constant use in every other field of activity. The findings of social scientists about the historical development of symbolism is, by itself, worthy of extended investigation by anyone interested in the general subject. Nevertheless, it is hoped

that what has been set forth here will be helpful to the general reader and the beginning practitioner in public relations.

Personal experience alone can provide that increasing degree of symbol-use mastery which is the aim of every public relations counsel. Day-to-day working out of problems sharpens the tools of consent engineering. However, observance of the general rules set forth here will do much to eliminate the waste effort inseparable from trial and error methods of procedure. To close with a symbolic reference, this chapter merely sets up sign posts along the route, but the directions are accurate.

Some U. S. national symbols

VISUAL SYMBOLS
(Pictures and Places)

Red, white, and blue
Uncle Sam
American flag—Old Glory
Statue of Liberty
Mount Vernon
Valley Forge
Independence Hall
Liberty Bell
Lincoln Memorial
Washington Monument
Bunker Hill
Plymouth Rock
American Eagle
Seal of the United States
The Goddess of Liberty

The Goddess of Justice
The Liberty Cap
The Sword (symbolizing Justice)
The Rayed Sun (symbol of glory and hope)
The Capitol of the United States
The White House
Map of the nation
The Covered Wagon

Organization for Public Relations

John Price Jones

IDEALISTS sometimes suggest that true public relations involves the exposure of all sides of a cause or an idea.

"When men differ in opinion, both sides ought equally to have the advantage of being heard by the public," Benjamin Franklin said. "When truth and error have fair play, the former is always an overmatch for the latter." No one can dispute Franklin, but was he talking of public relations or an educational process?

Regardless of the varying definitions of public relations, most authorities will agree that the accepted practice of public relations is the presentation of truth as an individual or a group sees it, in an effort to gain common acceptance of that truth. Human nature being what it is, there are few who believe they are called upon to present the disadvantages of an idea or a cause as well as the advantages. Thus public relations is, in practice, advocacy. Education provides for the presentation of all sides of a question, or it has in the past. Whether it will continue

to do so in the future may be subject to limitations by Congressional whims. While public relations is frequently referred to as an educational process, we know of no public relations programs which promote a cause or an idea by debating both advantages and disadvantages. Such programs may exist, but they do not appear to have ready visibility.

Education seeks to establish and teach truths. Public relations advocates what is accepted by an individual or a group as a truth.

If one were engaged in listing the frailties of public relations to date, it is likely that well in the foreground would be the charge there has been a lack of organization.

The building of an understanding with regard to an idea, an institution, or an individual is surely creative effort, and creative effort requires organization. If public relations is still an art, therefore, rather than an exact science, one reason for this status may be that its practitioners have paid too little attention to organization.

Definition. Organization has been described as system. It has been called executive direction. It is these things, but it is more.

Organization is the human and material structure and machinery through which a systematic, planned effort is carried out. It is the means required to direct and control the several and essential phases of a planned effort, in such a way as to produce a desired result.

In simpler terms, organization is a united group of people working for a common goal, under common leadership, and with the proper tools.

Society's smallest unit is the individual and his environment. When individuals with a common interest in a cause or an idea band together, a group or an association is created—another unit of society. Modern society as a whole is constituted of associations or groups, the members of each of which think and act in common when organized. (I am conscious of the fallacies inherent in the doctrine of "pluralism," to which I do not subscribe.)

Advances made by society begin with an intangible idea or, at a more advanced stage, with a reasonable complex concept for the improvement of the quality of life.

The intangible idea has no value to society unless it is converted into creative effort. The first steps in creating something from the intangible idea are imaginative thought about the methods which will make the idea effective and planning to put those methods into effect. The final requirement is work and effort. At this point the intangible idea gives way to planned effort. Organization comes into being.

The need for organization. Society approaches domestic peace and order when organized; chaos and trouble when disorganized. Business, industry, philanthropy, politics, education, public life—all the factors of modern social organization—move forward when well organized.

Business and industry operate efficiently with sound organization. Public life is at its best when well organized. Society approaches its maximum usefulness to the individual when organized, and merely minimum usefulness when it is disorganized.

The American people have been charged with hav-

ing too much organization and too many organizations. Perhaps so. But the high standards of American life can be attributed in no small part to our organized way of life, and that includes the achievements of both organized management and organized labor.

It so happens that the writer of this chapter has spent a great part of his life in raising funds for philanthropic causes. Experience has demonstrated, however, that the same principles of organization and public relations which hold for fund-raising efforts are equally valid in business or any other field of activity. Therefore, while the writer may make use of fund-raising examples to support his theories of organization and public relations, he believes these theories are broadly applicable in all areas.

Fund raising is public relations, for without sound public relations no philanthropy can live for long. As a matter of fact, fund raising is one of the more highly developed types of public relations. It takes better public relations to get a man to give a dollar than it does to convince him to spend a dollar.

Favorable public opinion is the basis upon which American philanthropy has been built to annual proportions of four billions and more.

Some will say that philanthropy is built upon the inherent desire of man to aid his neighbor, upon generous emotions or a rationalization of emotional reactions. This may be, but in my experience, efforts to create public opinion—whether for fund raising or for public relations—which depend entirely on stimulating the emotions are like the morning glory, blooming beautifully but falling early into a limp condition and premature death.

Sound ideas and causes do not come into being by chance or flourish without tending. They must be planted, nurtured, and made to grow.

Public opinion—the soil in which an idea or a cause must live—responds to certain stimuli. Organization is essential to the germination of ideas in our (or any) society.

A familiar example of this may be found in the history of charity.

Charity—the desire to aid one's unfortunate fellow beings—is in part a response to an emotional stimulus. It was not many years ago that the slum areas saw daily visitations from Lady Bountifuls, women aroused by an emotional stimulus to give all too indiscriminately. The result of this purely emotional arousal was that those in need too often received little of the sort of help they needed, and those not in need profited.

Charity began to take on real usefulness when good intentions were backed by organization. When charity became planned service, based on a knowledge of need and reinforced by human effort joined with proper material resources, it began to attain its goal—the alleviation of the sufferings of the poverty stricken, the cure and prevention of illness, and the distribution of just privilege to the hitherto underprivileged.

The example can be multiplied over and over in public relations efforts. In New York City, for example, the public has been angry for years at conditions on the water front. Individuals have steadily denounced the situation and been applauded for their efforts. Newspapers and magazines have built their circulation on exposés. Occa-

sionally some branch of local or federal government has made a feint at the problem. But it was not until 1952 that anything really happened.

At that time an organization came into being, the Anti-Crime Committee. Citizens united for planned action under strong leadership. Now the water-front situation has been laid out in the open.

Organized effort for the promotion of an idea is necessary to assure our reaching the proper target, in the most effective manner, with the greatest economy.

The attack of the Anti-Crime Committee on the water-front situation was well aimed. There was no scattering of shot. The concentration was solely on conditions in the area in which improvement was wanted. There was no diffusion of the goal, no conversion into a great national crusade for better conditions on water fronts over the nation. The guns were leveled at the New York docks, and the audience for the battle consisted of New Yorkers.

This careful organization was effective because it produced facts and aroused citizens to join in a common effort—at a cost over a two-year period representing less than one week's loss in pilferage on the water front.

Prerequisites of organization. One does not plunge into organization without some preliminary steps—at least not if the organization is to be successful.

The first necessary step probably is design—a plan based on an assessment of the goal and the resources required to attain it.

Design is just as important in building an organiza-

tion of human beings as it is in fashioning a machine from steel or aluminum. Therefore, first of all, there must be a blueprint.

The approach to the blueprint usually begins with a chart of organization. There is no easier way of realizing the aspects of a given job in organization than to attempt to chart them. A chart immediately poses the questions of fixing primary responsibility and guiding policies. It demands a consideration of leadership and of workers from top to bottom. And it soon becomes apparent that the basic need is an over-all plan.

Character of the task. The design of the organization requires a definition of the character of the effort for which organization is being built. For one thing, is it to be a long-term or short-term effort? The requirements of an organization to create favorable public opinion for the loan of over-age destroyers to a friendly nation at war, for example, are entirely different from the far larger and more complex requirements of organization for obtaining public support for this nation's participation in the United Nations. One demands quick enlistment of well-known leaders, willing to lend their names to emotional and dramatic appeals. The other calls for leadership able to give time and effort over a considerable period of time, and supported by a considerable number of community leaders and workers, likewise committed to a long-term job.

During World War II organization for air-raid defense was accomplished in fairly short order. But after the war, the Civil Defense Administration spent nearly a

year of planning and recruitment before it achieved a reasonably adequate organization. Obviously, the emotional elements and the degree of evident self-interest play an important part in determining the time factor in organizing for public opinion.

Scope of the organization. The design of the organization must also take into consideration its geographic scope. Often the desired result can be obtained by building a strong organization in a limited area, rather than by going to the extreme of establishing a national organization. The St. Lawrence Waterway, for instance, will have an effect on the entire economy of the country, but it would appear that public opinion regarding it can be built most effectively through organization confined to the region close to the proposed route.

What is the target? The public to be appealed to must be specified in the design. Organization for the repeal of prohibition centered in those areas where there was an evident and widespread sentiment for repeal; there was little effort in the regions known to be dry in sentiment.

Audiences break down generally into two groupings —geographical and common-interest.

The geographical group may be divided into three classifications—national, regional, and local. These categories, in turn, may be broken down again almost infinitely. The national grouping may include, for instance, all citizens, or it may be limited to all voters, or to all stockholders, or to all alumni of a university. The regional

grouping may break down into, say, two groups—those east of the Mississippi and those west of it. Or the breakdown may be by individual states, or by counties in the states. Carried still further, the public may be classified as inhabitants of a single community, or even a section of that community.

The breakdown of the public by common-interest groupings has almost limitless possibilities. Consider the groups that might be approached on the basis of a common interest through race or nationality. There are also such common-interest classifications as those based on age, religion, occupation, politics, sex, income, profession, economic interests, residence, business and trade, fraternal connection, and education.

The extent to which organization can be carried into groups with common interests is usually limited only by the time and man power available to carry on the organizational work. The New York City Cancer Committee, for instance, was organized not many years ago into 28 major groups and 190 subdivisions within those major groups, and doubtless this number has increased as the work of the committee continued to grow.

The degree of self-interest involved very often is the measure of participation among common-interest groups. One would not imagine that the Glass Bottle Blowers Association, the Camp Fire Girls, and the Air Line Pilots Association had much in common. However, these groups and 107 others of equally varying interests found common ground in working for the recruitment of volunteers in the civil defense organization of the nation.

One of the values of organized groups with common

interests is that they often produce a chain reaction. The labor-union member who joins a campaign for a cause is apt to arouse the enthusiasm of his wife, and she in turn may organize her neighbors. Organized groups also have their own systems of communication, such as house organizers, discussion groups, and meetings. From these instruments of communication the case is carried to a widening public.

Personnel. It matters little how ideal the organization of an effort may appear in the design or original chart of organization, if it lacks proper personnel. Ultimate success rests very largely on the human material from the top to the bottom of the organization, whose members must have interest, loyalty, and a willingness to work.

All of the qualities of personality, tact, understanding of human nature, judgment, and ability to make decisions are essential to organization for public opinion, just as they are essential to organization for business.

To assure the proper use of personnel, the design not only must indicate the people required, with specification of the qualities desired in them, but also must set forth their functions. Only in this way is it possible to avoid the losses which arise from duplication of effort, from a job undone because it was not clear whose responsibility it was, or from lack of teamwork.

Non-commercial organizations for the building of public opinion are usually led and operated, to a considerable extent, by volunteers who have an idea or a cause at heart. In these instances it is less easy than in professionally led enterprises to choose people in accordance

with their abilities. And it is here that the absence of selectivity in personnel can cause untold damage to a fine idea. Enthusiasm is not enough to qualify a man for an organization with a worthy cause. Most causes which touch the public attract zealots—honest and intense enthusiasts. But unless enthusiasm can be harnessed and brought into an organized machine, it is often best to sidetrack it as tactfully as possible. Quantity in personnel is important but quality is paramount.

Facilities for operation. In addition to its human structure, organization must include adequate physical facilities for efficient operation.

Many a venture has missed its mark because of the lack of operating machinery. This is particularly true in an organization which engages in competition for public favor. When the cry of "unfair" goes up in a public controversy, more often than not the charge may be traced to the fact that the side considered "unfair" has built a strong organization and given it the necessary facilities, whereas the side making the accusation is lacking in proper operating machinery.

Only a generation ago, organized labor, comparatively new in the field of competition for public opinion, was carrying on its efforts to build favorable opinion with the help of an out-of-date mimeograph machine and a worthy member who needed a job to piece out his retirement pay. It did not take organized labor long, however, to realize that it could make no better investment than in a well-planned organization for influencing public opinion, staffed by qualified workers, aided by all the

tools of modern communication available. Today there are few better planned, manned, and equipped organizations vying for public favor than those of the labor unions. They take advantage of every means of communication and provide sufficient financing to insure that their efforts measure up in quantity and quality to those of the opposition.

Man power is the first requisite of organization. There is no greater waste than that which arises when an organization has been created and set in motion without enough people to keep it going.

Professional help. This is probably as good a place as any to say a kind word for the expert in organization. He may not always be essential, for many an effort in organization has been created and has attained its goal with only amateur or semiprofessional talent at its disposal. As a rule, however, an organization planned and set up by an expert is far more likely to succeed, even though the expert may have retired before the goal has been won. Too often the organization which sets out to economize by avoiding the fees of professional assistance winds up in a sadly disorganized state. And when it calls in the "trouble doctor"—who at that stage may not be able to save the situation—the cost is disproportionate to what would have been incurred if professional help had been sought in the beginning.

The question of financing. Financing the organization is always an unhappy problem, but it is one which must be faced up to from the start if the objectives are to be achieved.

The budget of an organization must be adequate to provide the materials and man power specified in the design. A budget which is not certain to meet all necessary expenses is a liability. It lays the entire effort open to the danger of failure even after a fine start.

Even though the end may not be flat failure, the lack of financing may render the organization largely ineffective. When an organization gives evidence of financial insecurity or near insolvency, doubt arises in the minds of many about the cause for which it has been established. Moreover, when there is a continuing struggle for financial resources, too much organizational effort must be devoted to keeping out of bankruptcy and too little to making the fight for the true goal.

Once again the expert is of value here, for, in budgeting for organization, the expert is able to estimate accurately, on the basis of his experience, the need for such essentials as printed materials, radio and television time, direct mail promotion, motion pictures, office equipment, and the rest. He is also trained to choose the proper staff at the best prevailing rates, and he knows how to set up a control system for expenditures which will insure against waste.

The need for efficient tools. Equipment is as basic to organization for public opinion as it is to industry. The highly developed modern communications system does not operate without mechanics. The approach to the human mind is through such mechanical means as the printed word; the spoken word traveling over miles of wire, air waves, and coaxial cables; and the visual, whose

operation ranges all the way from the television screen to the cap of the milk bottle. Even the sense of smell is used as an approach to public opinion. Recently, when a branch department store was being opened with great éclat, twenty-five gallons of expensive perfume were sprayed into the air to create an impression of luxury and quality.

Beyond the equipment for the communication of an idea, there is the equally pressing necessity for such mundane comforts of organization as decent and efficient working conditions. The organization sending out letters typed on poor typewriters injures the cause for which it works. There was once a feeling among many organizations working for public opinion that it was necessary to save every penny possible and to make the saving clear to the public. They consequently worked in loft space and had what amounted to packing-case furniture. It soon became evident that this false economy resulted in packing-case work. Nowadays effective organizations have effective working equipment.

Organization that begins with an imaginative idea never actually reaches its zenith until it has become an intricate operation, capable of accommodating itself to minute detail. Organization that succeeds requires constant planning of detailed character relating to who, what, where, when, and how. It imposes the obligation of a continuing check and evaluation of aims, methods, and results. The more effective an organization is the less simple it becomes.

We have tried so far to set forth some of the pre-

requisites of organization, the necessity for a plan fixing careful specifications for the organization, and the requirements in personnel and operating facilities. Of course, no organization lives without human effort and direction, and so we come to the vital matter of leadership:

The human element in organization. Leadership is the primary essential to organization.

Leaders provide the necessary inspiration and guidance for the organization, help to focus and personalize the idea or cause, attract workers and supporters, capitalize on basic, natural human drives, and serve to inspire all persons connected with the organization.

There are certain commonly accepted axioms of leadership. Leaders should be representative of all the larger groups who are to be approached for support of the idea or cause. They must have influence and strength among a wide variety of groups. They must be willing to accept responsibility. They must be able to set a proper example to all who work with or for the organization.

The word leadership means just what it says. It must not be confused with notoriety. Today's world is heavy with so-called celebrities, who possess great notoriety but no power of leadership.

True and successful leadership exacts time and effort. Nothing is more dangerous than the second-class attention of a first-class man. An organization can accomplish more under the first-class attention of a second-class man. Sincerity in leadership and a willingness to work and give time are of major importance, much more necessary than the leader's personal fame.

It is well to remember that in these days of highly developed communications, a leader may be physically remote and little known on the national scene; but if the organization follows a proper course of action and makes full use of communication facilities, it can raise its leader into a position of prominence in a fairly short time.

Fitting the character of the leadership to the need. There are two variations on the theme of leadership. One takes the form of the well-known individual; the other assumes the character of group leadership, with representation from many avenues of life.

When the Committee to Defend America by Aiding the Allies was created early in World War II, it was clear that, if the people were to be stirred to action, the required leadership would have to be strong, respected, vigorous, and entirely free of suspicion of any personal interest. The late William Allen White was asked to take on the job. The committee made no great claims on Mr. White's time, but it did call on his judgment and influence with frequency. He possessed the qualities of courage, conviction, and honesty in a matter which many people considered controversial. Under his leadership, the committee attracted other leaders and obtained the necessary financing. These strengths permitted the accomplishment of a great deal in aid of our subsequent allies and in eliminating domestic weaknesses from which we otherwise would have suffered when the time came for us to enter the war. Mr. White in this instance was an individual leader. He personified a cause which demanded strong and dramatic personal leadership.

Group leadership is necessary, or at least most effective, in those organizations which tend to seek support from a wide variety of sources. Spokesmen for many points of view assume joint leadership, even though there may be one among them who holds the titular leadership.

When it became evident during the depression that some measure of relief for the unemployed in New York City was mandatory, group leadership undertook the task. To be sure, the late Seward Prosser assumed the chairmanship of the effort, but he lost no time in gathering about him leaders from all walks of life in New York. He created an executive committee with representatives of religious groups, management and labor, women, social workers, the professions, etc. This was valid group-leadership organization. Its effectiveness is on record. It succeeded not only in creating resources for relief but in stimulating nation-wide efforts of similar character and arousing government to its own responsibility in the matter.

Measuring the area of influence. The measurement of the strength of a leader is not necessarily the extent to which he is known. A man may be a national figure and still have but a limited field of influence.

Since World War II, many former officers in the armed forces have been placed in positions of leadership in organizations working for public causes. Their training and experience makes them excellent administrators, but often their sphere of influence is limited. Because of the nature of their past services, they do not have wide acquaintance among influential civilians. Often their

military training makes it difficult for them to approach the public with ease. They have impeccable reputations and are held in respect, but their public influence remains limited.

Similarly, organizations are sometimes disposed to seek leadership from the world of sports or amusements. Here again are leaders who are widely known but who do not know widely. The national sports figure, for example, who assumes the leadership of an organization can offer his name and fame, but he is rarely able to exercise much influence beyond the immediate world in which he excels.

Another avenue leading to ultimate trouble is the one which chooses synthetic leadership. In these days, when the newspaper columnist has an enormous following and few strictures upon what he says, a good many people become public characters for no other reason than that they enjoy the favor of a particular columnist. The frequency with which their names may appear in the columns is no measure of their ability to lead.

As for columnists themselves, experience indicates that they are probably more effective as cheer leaders than as leaders on the field. Their bread and butter depends upon circulation—the total number of readers they can hold. It is obvious that if they find their readers disagreeing with a stand they may have taken on a cause, they will make a switch, or, at the very least, drop the matter out of their columns. To be sure, columnists have promoted philanthropies, made books popular, and saved plays from failure, but these have usually been solo ventures and not occasions when the columnists have acted as leaders in organizations.

In choosing for leadership, an organization might ask these questions:

What does the potential leader represent?

Is he acceptable to all the groups that the organization hopes to reach?

How well is he known?

Whom does he know and what is his area of influence?

Has he time available?

Will he work actively as a leader, or does he intend only to lend his name?

Workers in the vineyard. As with an army, an organization cannot consist entirely of generals.

However, an organization created for the purpose of arousing public opinion will do very well if it is able to give each of its members the sense of responsibility which will make him feel like a general in his own area.

The workers in an organization are those who volunteer—either entirely of their own volition or because they have been convincingly invited—to carry the message of the organization to given individuals and groups. The workers are the salesmen and the sine qua non of successful organization.

No matter how strong the idea or cause which the organization strives to promote, few people will respond to it unless they are approached individually and given a means of action. The word-of-mouth approach is the most effective. Interest will be aroused by all the publicity methods of communication, but it is only the personal approach which can really overcome inertia or break down

the barriers of resistance. To accomplish this purpose and secure favorable action is the function of the worker.

The characteristics distinguishing strong workers from the weak are the degree to which they will accept responsibility; their enthusiasm, energy, and knowledge; their social and financial standing; and their courage and sincerity.

The source of the most effective workers is usually the group closest to the problem.

In recent years, the controversy over so-called socialized medicine has been a major issue in this country. For the moment, the issue is apparently dormant. If this is true, and public opinion is not demanding some form of government subsidy for individual medical care, the crystallization of that opinion must be credited to the workers in the organization which sought to create that opinion —the doctors. No recent effort in organization for public opinion has made more effective use of those closest to the problem—the doctors and their patients.

The workers in any given effort should be representative of the cause. There should be ample representation from each of the social, economic, racial, religious, or geographical groups to whom the organization expects to appeal.

Workers—individual and group. Workers may be either individuals or groups. When a group functions efficiently in its own interest but has additionally a direct interest in the cause for which the larger organization has been created, it affords a ready-made opportunity to acquire a number of workers at one time. When an Ameri-

can Legion post, for example, takes a position with regard to a cause or an idea, it is reasonable to expect that the majority of the members are convinced of the soundness of the cause and will work for it.

Group workers are easier to enroll than individuals. This is particularly true among groups representing various phases of business and industry. If the members of the button industry in a big city, for instance, are to be brought into an organization, the approach to them is made through their leaders. To bring them into the organization individually would require great time and effort. Therefore, particularly in New York, any organization created for a public cause is likely to rely for its workers on industrial and business groups already organized, within themselves, according to certain established classifications. In the case of such an industry as textiles, it would be extremely difficult to organize workers as one large group, but there may be half a dozen separate groups within the industry which can easily be organized. The woolen group and the cotton group, for example, are strangers; the synthetics manufacturers have nothing in common with the men who deal in gray goods. Enlisted as separate groups, however, they may make highly effective group workers.

There is, however, a disadvantage when organization is based largely upon group workers, for control may be hard to maintain. It may be difficult to keep groups within the same community from crossing wires and duplicating effort.

The individual worker, on the other hand, as against the group workers, can usually be counted on to accept

specific assignments, once he is enlisted. He can be given definite instructions and asked to render reports of progress.

The effective worker—group or individual—is the one that is given something to do. It is all well and good to get people to endorse an idea, but to hold their interest and keep them promoting the idea, they need duties. The smoothly functioning organization keeps its workers busy making personal interviews, obtaining signatures to petitions, holding meetings, filling speaking engagements, promoting letters to government leaders, and so on.

Finally, there must be an adequate number of workers. No organization can go far even with the best leaders unless it has enough workers to carry the job from day to day.

Motivations in organization. The motivations which cause human beings to join an organization and work for it are usually the same as the motivations which gave initial inspiration to the cause for which the organization was created.

Self-interest is a primary motivation in all of life. It is basic to successful organization, and is, therefore, the first motivation. "How does it affect me?" is the commonest question asked when an unfamiliar cause or idea is expounded.

At the moment, an organization is forming in the Middle West which goes under the mysterious alphabetical symbol of IGHAT. Undoubtedly this organization will have little or no trouble in getting the leaders, workers, and resources necessary for organization, once it is

explained that IGHAT stands for "I'm Going to Holler about Taxes." There is no puzzle about the element of self-interest in this cause!

Self-interest is not always self-evident. But when it is made apparent and is properly promoted, it can always bring quick recruits into an organization.

Public interest is a second motivation in organization. It is not as forceful as self-interest, but there are always people willing to work for the public interest—particularly when it involves a bit of self-interest too, as in the case of those who have private interests which can benefit from the reflection of their service in the interest of the public.

Sometimes those who join organizations are confused about whether they are working in the public interest or for their own self-interest. The problem is immaterial as long as the cause is well served.

The third potent force in promoting participation in an organization is the social or business benefit which accrues from association with the other people participating in the cause. Any movement which includes "the best people in town" ordinarily finds it easy to recruit workers. If an organization has enlisted leaders of industrial prominence, lesser individuals are ordinarily "glad to serve." Many a faithful volunteer worker has found his business stature improved after he has served well in an organized public effort. Salesmen also have found their associations in such organizations a fertile field for building their own acquaintanceship.

Whatever the motivations behind one's participa-

tion in an organization for public opinion, the service rendered furthers the democratic process.

Operation in organization. Organization, as we have indicated, is useless without sound operation. It puts the structure into motion and steers it to its desired destination.

Operation which gets things done requires the direction of the day-to-day activities of all departments of the organization. It insures that all of the planned methods of communication are put into effect, that leaders and workers each have their assigned tasks, that constant supervision is given to the fulfillment of basic plans, and, above all, that the finances are maintained as they have been budgeted.

Operation requires not only planning but time for preparation. An effort prematurely undertaken can bring rapid failure. Proper timing is indispensable. A time schedule drawn in advance and consistently maintained assures results that the hit-or-miss system can never possibly achieve.

The power of organization. Perhaps the best example of the power of organization may be found in American politics.

Administrations—national, state, and local—survive or fall through organization.

Political organization is carried out in detail, down to the precinct captain and the precinct workers who work to win votes and get those votes to the polls. This

organization in a national campaign begins with the candidate and the national chairmen and continues through state, city, and county to the organized precinct.

It has been charged by some politicians that the Democratic party lost with Stevenson because the organization had been allowed to grow weak, and that its weakness was most evident and most costly at the precinct level.

Political organization thrives on reward or patronage, but, like most other organizations, it has its roots in the belief in an idea or a cause.

One dramatic example of the power of organization in this country is found in the story of USO.

In 1940 the nation began mobilizing for defense. National Guard units were federalized and selective service became effective.

By the autumn of 1940, our armed forces were expanding at an amazing rate. Men were quartered under emergency conditions. New camps grew up in the wilderness or near towns unable to provide any facilities for recreation. The morale problem of the off-duty serviceman aroused responsible leaders throughout the country.

In September, 1940, the leaders of five national recreational and welfare agencies that had provided services for the armed forces in World War I met at breakfast in New York. Out of one or more of such meetings came a pledge of these organizations to use their facilities to the utmost to meet the needs of servicemen, and furthermore to create a single organization that would finance and direct recreational services for the off-duty men of the armed forces.

By February, six national agencies banded together, representing all races and creeds, and incorporated under the name of the United Service Organizations.

Those were the days of alphabetical agencies, and overnight the initials USO came on the horizon.

USO was unknown to the American people in February, 1941, but the idea behind the initials caught on like wildfire. Throughout the entire land, citizens joined and organized in behalf of the men in the services.

One of the world's richest men took on working responsibilities for USO. A housewife in Utah baked pies for the nearby USO Club, which was then operating in an old store near the entrance to a vast, muddy acreage then in the process of becoming an airfield. A banker in California worked from midnight until 4:00 A.M. manning a snack bar in a USO. In New York's Madison Square Garden, thirty thousand people pledged their support. In a Kansas town, business was suspended for a day until the citizens had given their quota for USO. The sum of $10,000,000 was sought to finance the work in its first year, and $13,000,000 was contributed.

Soon every state had its own USO Council. Every village or town that had any population of off-duty or transient servicemen had some sort of USO unit or committee to provide service.

Within a year, the USO was operating 395 clubs and 143 small units in 246 communities in 44 states and on 15 overseas bases. The expansion continued and USO camp shows went into the field at home and abroad. Mobile units were sent out by USO to men on maneuvers or on isolated stations. The variety of USO services ranged

all the way from a performance by a great comedian to a housewife on duty to sew on buttons. The friendly cup of coffee became the symbol of the USO.

By the time this nation was engaged in World War II, USO was operating in 3,040 units in the continental United States, with more than one million volunteer workers giving their services. It was also operating in the Western Hemisphere outside the continental United States. It was providing 3,750 USO camp shows each month in the United States and sending overseas 255 USO camp-show troupes each year with 1,300 entertainers. USO was spending some $43,000,000 a year, and the American public was providing all that was asked for.

USO touched the lives, at one time or another, of nearly every American serviceman. It enlisted the volunteer services of hundreds of thousands of Americans who stayed at home—from every walk of life. It enjoyed wide popularity and it operated with great economy. And all of this gigantic organization was achieved within a few short months from a small breakfast meeting in a New York hotel.

USO represents the American genius for organization at its best. It was devoted to a great and popular cause. It had leadership widely representative of the nation, and it had unlimited willing workers.

Another example of the power of organization is in the making in this country today. It is in the field of higher education. Since the end of World War II, the problem of financing higher education in private universities and colleges has been increasing. As the conviction grew that not only individuals should support higher edu-

cation but also foundations, corporations, and labor organizations, colleges began to approach these sources individually. The competition became keen. Then it was decided by the colleges in a single state to organize to make a unified appeal. Today there are 32 state federations of colleges, representing 401 colleges, making a united appeal for funds. Moreover, the state federations have already created a national organization which holds promise of one more nation-wide organization for a cause.

And in summary. Organization to create public opinion for a cause or an idea is characteristic of orderly society.

Unorganized social forces dealing with public opinion lead to fads, rumors, confusion, and even mob rule.

Public opinion acquires power through the attitudes of individuals. The creation of powerful public opinion, therefore, lies in organizing individuals.

Sound organization requires a plan or design—a definite mapping of the route ahead, the goal to be attained, the means to its attainment.

Once the plan is defined and agreed upon, it must be implemented by human effort—leadership and workers.

Leadership must be representative, willing to give time and effort, and with sufficient influence to persuade others. Leadership produces social change through the immediate behavior of the leader, and so a leader must have a sense of social responsibility.

People are more readily persuaded to follow as one of a crowd under a leader than to work alone for the same social end. In recruiting workers for organization, there-

fore, it is well to break down the leadership into groups as far as may be practical.

Workers in an organization must be adequate in numbers, well informed about the cause they are serving, and provided with tasks which will keep them participating along a planned line.

The target for the organization must be well defined. It should be determined in relation to the available leadership, the workers, and the probable finances. It is better to fire a rifle shot at a small target than to blast a big bore into the air. "Who?" and "Where?" are questions that must be answered when the target is being defined.

Direction by a professional—one who knows the techniques of organization and has tested them—can go far towards assuring success, and can, in the long run, effect economy.

And, organizations cannot run without resources in money and equipment.

In our world, which, from inertia, tends always towards disorganization and therefore chaos, a sound organization for sound public opinion offers the prospect of a more perfect world.

Planning

Benjamin Fine

PLANNING IS ESSENTIAL in carrying out an effective public relations campaign. It must be stressed that an adequate public relations activity does not depend upon haphazard sleight-of-hand, upon semantics, upon the tyranny of words, or even upon bright ideas. Actually, public relations involves a planning approach, an engineering of consent.

In practice, this approach depends upon the objectives you have in mind, the research you have carried out, the strategy decided upon, the broad themes you are to use with various groups, and the organization of your various activities. In planning, after you recognize the importance of these factors, you should set down on paper the approaches you are to follow—how you are going to use your men, your mind power, your money, and your materials to bring about your objectives.

Indeed, any sound public relations activity undertaken by any kind of organization will really depend for

its ultimate usefulness upon effective planning. Planning must be done for effective public relations, just as it must be done in the building of any structure that is going to meet its needs. Remember, planning is not a haphazard activity. It is an activity that grows out of a knowledge of an institution, of what its objectives are, and of how to meet them; its success depends upon the strategy that has been decided upon in order to meet the objectives, the themes or ideas that are valid with the various publics selected, and the actual organization set up to carry the public relations activity.

Different kinds of planning essential

Before you begin the public relations program, it is necessary to take into consideration the different kinds of planning necessary in different types of public relations operations. It is obvious that the planning for an activity such as a university or college would be different from that required for a broad public relations activity such as the United States government. Again, planning for institutional public relations, as exemplified by the American Red Cross or the March of Dimes, would differ in outlook and scope from the planning conducted in the public relations campaign of the National Association of Manufacturers or General Motors.

In a sense, the type of planning needed for a particular institution or organization depends upon the major objectives of the campaign. Why do you want public relations and what do you hope it will accomplish? Only when you determine your major objectives, when you know precisely what your public relations campaign is

designed to do, can you properly focus your program in the direction that you want to go. Make a check list of such questions as these:

1. Do you want the public relations to build good will for your institution?
2. Do you want the public relations to gain community support for your organization?
3. Do you want the public relations to add to the reputation of your organization?
4. Do you want the public relations to educate the general public as to your goals, ideals, or practices?
5. Do you want the public relations to bring any special phase of your activities to the attention of the public?
6. Do you want the public relations to help raise money for your institution or organization?
7. Do you want the public relations to help bring in more students to your school or more customers to your store?
8. Do you want the public relations to help prevent misunderstanding or misinterpretation of your policies and practices?
9. Do you want the public relations to help build better morale within your own institution?
10. Do you want the public relations to reach a quality audience—economically, intellectually, socially?

Publics important for planning

The ten-point check list can only be answered by the institution or business on the basis of its own needs and desires. To a college or university, the campaign might well stress the need of more money, more students, and greater public appreciation of its role in the community. A "town and gown" feud might have developed because of an adolescent "panty-raid" prank of spring-fever boys —and the town is up in arms. It is obvious that the public relations planning should be geared to meet and overcome this latent or expressed hostility.

On the other hand, a new organization, such as the Committee for the Better Public Understanding of Epilepsy, might plan to stress number four—that of educating the general public to its goals, ideals, and practices. Actually, this committee did so plan, and in the short space of a year was able to enlist wide support for its program. Taking as its theme "Epilepsy—the last of the hush-hush diseases," the committee enlisted the support of large segments of the population that had never thought about, or remotely understood, the dangers inherent in treating epilepsy as a hush-hush affliction.

There are many publics, all important to a greater or lesser degree, depending upon your particular organization. For an educational institution, these publics would be paramount: potential students, students, parents of potential students, parents, sister colleges, accrediting agencies, potential donors, donors, trustees, faculty, editors, radio announcers, and ministers. What these publics felt about the college, said about it, or in any way reacted toward it would in the long run determine

whether the institution would be a recognized "name" college or an unknown, unhonored, and unsung campus struggling to keep its door open.

A business institution, on the other hand, might have a different set of publics, although some overlapping is inevitable. The publics of a supermarket newly established in a community would consist of the potential customers, the customers, the clerks, the distributors, the sales force, the buyers, the local residents, the neighboring store owners, and the prominent citizens. These publics, individually or collectively, if antagonistic toward the new chain store, could almost assure its failure. Public relations planning would have to take these factors into account.

Internal versus external publics

But that is not all. Each organization or institution, whether eleemosynary or commercial, has two important and sometimes conflicting publics with which to contend: the internal and the external. Whether large or small, each organization has these two publics that must be satisfied. In the case of business firms, the internal publics will consist of employees, stockholders, business management, labor organizations, editors of the house organs, telephone operators, junior executives, and labor foremen. It is essential in any organization, before a public relations program can be planned, that the various internal publics be brought together so that harmony and good will may prevail. If labor fights management, or the stockholders are discontented, it would be difficult to conduct an adequate campaign of public relations.

The same business firm cited above would have its quota of external publics. They would be the customers, the retailers, the distributors, the citizens generally, and the federal government itself. These external publics would have to be satisfied that the firm is reliable, that its products are acceptable, that its policy is honest, and that the practices followed are in the best interest of all concerned.

What plans should you make for your publics?

In planning any activity it is necessary to find out what your various publics want. You just can't assume that your institution, your product or your program has been accepted at its face value. You may have a highly laudable objective—that of establishing a new dental school. You may have a sufficient number of leading citizens to serve as sponsors. But you also need $5,000,000 to open your dental school.

What is the attitude of the publics—those upon whom you will have to call for support of the dental school? Before starting your campaign for this institution, it would be prudent to conduct a study or engage in the necessary research to see if the support will be forthcoming. You may find that there is no overwhelming demand for your pet project, and that it would be impossible to raise the money necessary to make it a success. Or you may find that the public generally is apathetic or even antagonistic. Therefore, it is essential to conduct the necessary research to find out the difference, if any, between your objectives and the present attitudes of your publics toward these objectives and toward your organization generally.

Bridging the gap between objectives and publics

Before you start your campaign, it will be necessary to bridge the gaps between your objectives and the attitudes of your present publics. Such planning might take into account the various methods used to bring your internal and external policies more nearly into line with your objectives. For example, in any planning of this kind, you have the written word, the spoken word, the printed word, and pictures in various forms to use to get your publics closer to the goal you have in mind. This means, of course, that your planning would have to take into account the use of various types of educational methods that can affect the attitudes and actions of these publics.

There are many media for reaching the public. The wise public relations counselor, attempting to co-ordinate the findings of his research department with the objectives of his institution, would utilize these media of communication to fullest advantage. Below are listed some of the more important media that can be utilized in planning the public relations campaign:

1. The daily newspaper: with its 1,800 daily papers and circulation of 55,000,000, the paper is still the most important molder of public opinion found in this country today.
2. Weekly newspapers: approximately 10,000 weeklies exist with a circulation of 13,000,000.
3. National magazines: 7,600 magazines of all types can be found on the newsstands. The circulation of magazines has increased 220 per cent in the last twenty years.

4. Trade journals: there are 2,000 trade, technical, and professional magazines read by a wide range of industries and professions.
5. Foreign or hyphenated press: several hundred foreign-language publications are printed, as well as 7,635 English-language periodicals, geared to specific race groups.
6. Radio: 93 per cent of all American homes have radio sets, there are 3,000 radio stations, total estimated sets listed as 100,000,000.
7. Television: growing at dizzy pace, 12,500,000 sets with 70,000,000 viewers. May double in five years.
8. Visual aids: posters on street cars and buses and in libraries can prove valuable in public relations planning.
9. Motion pictures: 15,000 motion picture houses, with 12,000,000 capacity.
10. House organs: unlimited potential—6,000 with 150,000,000 circulation.
11. Exhibits: effective public relations medium.
12. Pamphlets and brochures: valuable media to tell your story in relatively inexpensive form.
13. Direct mail: constantly used, and abused—must have adequate planning to be effective.
14. Books: not readily available, but can be utilized with tremendous impact, as Professor Kinsey of Indiana University has shown.

The above are suggested forms of communication media that should be taken into account when planning the

campaign, the program, or the drive. A combination of various media provides the impact to "sell" your story.

Effective planning depends on top policy makers

Beyond any question, planning, to be effective, will need the support and co-operation of the policy makers at the top of the organization. It may be the college president, the chairman of the board of trustees, or the superintendent of schools. But without support from top leadership, the campaign will find the going rough and unsteady. The public relations program cannot succeed, in the long run, without top support.

This is easy to understand. Without the support of the organization's spokesmen, the campaign will lack that impetus necessary to secure public approbation. For, to the public, the president of the firm is the top figure, and unless he is cognizant of the planning, and co-operates with it fully, public support will be lost.

Planning goes beyond routine matters. It should take into account non-routine policy-making decisions, available only with the consent of top management. The public relations program, as blueprinted by the public relations counselor, should be broad enough to cover every phase of the campaign. In this respect, it will touch upon policy as well as publicity. Both are important for its final success. Nothing should be overlooked that might throw your planning out of gear.

Man power, mind power, and money

You cannot make your plans without recognizing your budgetary limitations. Campaigns are not planned in a

vacuum. It is necessary to know the amount of money you have available to implement your planning effectively. Indeed, money is probably one of the most vital and at the same time most limiting factors with which you must contend. If you have $1,000 to carry out a campaign, that figure rudely sets the limits to your plans. If you have $1,000,000, you will be able to act accordingly. In one case you may rest your case on a few inexpensive booklets or brochures; in the other, you can go all out and include radio, television, and other expensive mass media.

But money alone is not the deciding factor. In your planning you must consider the man power available to you. How many persons do you have helping you? Where can you turn for assistance beyond your immediate staff? These are important considerations in any long-range campaign you may prepare. Man power is of vital importance in any public relations planning. Unless you get sufficient assistance, your ambitious plans may die aborning.

The third M, mind power, is of great importance, too. Without adequate mind power, you will be stymied in carrying out your plans. To conduct an adequate public relations campaign, it will be necessary to "think through" your objectives and recognize the limitations of your program. That is why it is important to seek the best mind power available. And that, too, is why it is necessary to obtain the support of management.

It is obvious that if you are dealing with a university and want your student body to meet certain standards, the effectiveness with which you can communicate with

individual students will depend to a certain extent on the man power, the mind power, and the money you have available, as well as on printed matter, bulletins, pamphlets, booklets, or even on conferences or meetings with your students.

Factors that influence planning

Many factors enter into planning. As has been seen, the attitude of the public is at the outset highly important. It is essential, in fact, to bring about the right attitudes. Once you recognize what the public's attitudes are, you are in a better position to act accordingly. Of course, we must recognize at once that attitudes cannot be changed overnight. It may be necessary to change your own objectives. But in the case of the epilepsy committee referred to above, it was found that the public had an erroneous attitude toward this disease. The committee, through its public relations planning, set about to change that attitude, since it was not only erroneous but distinctly harmful to tens of thousands of men and women who suffer from various forms of epileptic seizures. The campaign was partially effective, at any rate, as articles appearing in the public press, in influential and mass-circulation national magazines, and on the radio, attempted to give a more accurate picture of the nature of the disease.

It is not always easy to change attitudes or to bring about what you consider to be the "right" ones. Almost always there are two sides to the question, and the adherents of each believe that they, and they alone, have the

truth. You are dealing with movable publics. One group of citizens may accept your position, while another within the same community may be entirely opposed.

Public relations planning must take into consideration routine planning, as well as the policy-making kind. The counselor must constantly be on guard against activities that may demand deviation from the routine. It is not easy to project a campaign and then carry it out—so often various decisions may need to be made that will, in the long run, entirely change the course of your own program. Flexibility is a virtue, of course, but it is important that the campaign planning be of such nature that it can serve as a blueprint, as a guide for future activities.

That is why the budget must be thoroughly examined and explored before the actual campaign gets under way. Effective planning depends upon the use of men and materials, as well as upon the creation of a sound policy.

Short-term versus *long-term planning*

Public relations planning is not a mechanical act. More than mere techniques are needed. The counselor who does the planning will need to adopt a sound philosophy. He needs to know that he cannot create and maintain good public relations by merely wishing for it. Public relations just does not happen by itself. Someone behind the scenes does the necessary planning. And that someone must know how to organize his forces and resources to carry it out.

At this point, though, it is wise for the public rela-

tions expert to take stock and see whether he is planning for a short time, long time, or intermediate period. How are these various time periods to be meshed in, one with another? And after he has determined his time periods, what kind of chart does he make up to determine the correlation between the various facets of his activity and the time plan relative to the goal he has set up? In a sense, he is like a general who must work out the strategy to win a war. He has, moreover, to be sure that his material and guns flow in regularly and on time. And like a chess player, he must know how to make his every move.

To determine the length of the campaign, it would be necessary, first, to find out the objectives. What are you seeking? What are your goals? Is it to raise X number of dollars over a six-month period? Is it to set up adequate arrangements for a forthcoming national conference to last less than two weeks? Or is it to change the attitudes of the public toward a business firm that has been wrongly accused of having an anti-labor policy, or to change the attitudes of the public toward a college that has gained the reputation of being interested in big-time football at the expense of academic standards.

Before you begin to map out the campaign, whether it is of long, short, or of intermediate range, survey the means of communication available in your community, or whatever the area to be covered in your planning. Learn what you can expect from the newspapers, press syndicates, picture syndicates, magazines, radio, newsreels, and television in the way of adequate coverage. Then make use of these facilities to best advantage. If your cause is just and honest—and if it isn't, you won't

succeed anyway—the newspapers, radio, and other media will treat you fairly.

But that alone is not enough. While it is important to understand the media available in your community, it is equally important to know the publics for whom the program is to be established. In setting up the campaign, you must map out the campaign objective—what is its goal? The campaign organization is then prepared—who is responsible, who will be placed in charge? Your plans will call for an opening event, and follow through with a series of events for the duration of the campaign, if it is to be a short one. If a long-range campaign is called for, the general outline, highlighting some of the more important events along the way, will be sufficient.

Philosophy of planning

A person undertaking a public relations program would do well to think of it in terms of a mental process he must exercise. From this will stem an approach, if he is to succeed, in the use of his physical, mental, and financial resources. Let us take as an example Blank University. It has a special problem. The university has decided upon its objectives. It has made the necessary research. And it finds that it can meet its objectives with the expenditure of the time, money, and personnel it has available.

The university has as its objective the raising of its academic standards in the minds of the community. It wants to be known as a Grade A, rather than a Grade B institution. It seeks as an ultimate objective recognition from the regional accrediting unit. It is handicapped because it is not so recognized. This will require plans for

both the internal and the external publics. It will need both short- and long-range planning.

Necessary internal public relations

What are the necessary steps that the public relations counselor must take? He will devise a plan for the internal publics. This might include:

1. Adding new and highly respected members to the board of trustees.
2. The employment of a suitable president, whose name will bring confidence to the institution and respect from the public generally.
3. Raising the standards for admission of students. One institution, a junior college, was denied accreditation because too many of its students came from the lower 25 per cent of the high-school graduating classes.
4. Securing more funds for the institution. This could develop into a fund-raising campaign, headed by respected and influential leaders within the community.
5. The hiring of additional faculty members, with recognized reputations, whose presence on the campus would bring luster to the institution.
6. The development of better morale among the various persons connected with the institution, including the students, faculty, administration, clerks, elevator operators, secretaries, etc. The internal attitudes must be of the best before planning should be attempted for public acceptance.

External public relations

Following the plans for internal improvement, the public relations planning should enter upon a campaign to win the external publics to the institution and to give it the good will needed. Events should be planned to help various publics the institution is trying to reach to gain greater confidence in the college. Below are several suggestions for possible events that could create a favorable climate of public relations for the institution:

1. The public could be invited to such special events as commencements, anniversaries, homecoming celebrations, dramatic performances, etc.
2. A special lecture series, dealing with the immediate needs of the community, or with a vital national issue, could be held on the campus, and the general public invited free of charge. Big-name lecturers might well draw good audiences.
3. Exhibits could be prepared, showing the objectives and ideals of the institution. Placed in strategic spots within the community, such as in a responsive firm, the local library, and the City Hall, these exhibits could tell the story in a dramatic manner. The exhibit could attract attention, arouse interest, convey a clear message, and create a desire on part of public to know more about the institution.
4. Brochures or reports should be prepared, telling the story of the college and what its new aims, policies, and ambitions are. A beautiful brochure, liberally illustrated and attractively prepared,

could prove effective in changing the attitudes of the public and in bringing about new attitudes and reactions.
5. Interviews with the president, trustees, or other spokesmen, to appear in print or be heard over the radio, could reach the mass audience. These, when held on a dignified educational level, could point up the best interests of the institution and tie the college in with the needs of the community.

Throughout the long-range planning, public relations would point to the objectives of the college. It could make clear that:

1. Its interests are in the students and in their academic welfare.
2. It plans to raise existing academic standards.
3. It plans to de-emphasize football and devote more attention to building stronger libraries and laboratories.
4. It will give greater homage to the history or philosophy teacher than to the football coach or the high scorer on the basketball team.
5. It will raise faculty salaries to attract higher caliber men and women to staff and thereby add to the reputation of the institution.

Planning helps change attitudes

That effective planning can help change public attitudes has been proved in the past. The public relations coun-

selor must recognize the role that planning takes in developing an acceptance of his objectives. For example, if a university is unjustly regarded by the public as having a poor English department, then part of the planning would be:

1. To encourage the English department to be more articulate at meetings.
2. To have guest lecturers come to the university as exchange professors.
3. To have important speakers who stand for the highest type of English instruction come to speak to the students and the public generally.
4. To have textbooks published by the university, outlining the most effective English courses and giving credit to staff for changes being made.
5. To bring the work of the English department before the public through interviews with the chairman of English department or the professors on the staff, outlining progress that has been made and giving future plans.
6. By publicizing special research, studies, or projects that may be taking place within the English department. If none is underway, the university could encourage this type of work.

Public relations is not a magic formula

The approach to planning is a definite concept of public relations. There is no magic formula, no panacea, for good public relations. Nothing simply "happens." For the most part, everything that takes place is scheduled,

and usually far in advance. The wise public relations man will blueprint his over-all program, covering one, two, or more years in advance. Only as the director understands the importance of this type of planning will his public relations program have any assurance of success.

Planning is a mental process that every public relations man must utilize if he is to do an effective job. There is a contrary opinion which places much emphasis upon brilliant concepts, tricks, if you will, and little emphasis upon the solid but less sensational schedule, well thoughout out, carefully engineered. People of real insight and experience will have no part of a scheme which rests upon a foundation of mere "gimmicks." You may have short-term success with this kind of thing, but in the long run you may—probably will—fail. This is not to say, however, that concepts are unimportant to our task. They are important—when joined with good to brilliant planning.

Deeds, though they may underline effective planning, can only be valid if they affect top policy and penetrate the entire organization. In other words, the institution planning the campaign must give "hostages to the future." There must be commitments to the public, but they must be understood and honored from top to bottom of the institution. Your program can be self-defeating if you promise much, deliver little. Over-selling the public can prove disastrous. "All sizzle and no steak" would be just as harmful to your organization or institution in the long run as to the Waldorf Astoria Hotel. Therefore, the public relations man has always to ask the question, "What is the policy of this concern?" And in

getting the answer he must determine whether his promises will be fulfilled. All the publicity in the world will not overcome poor policies. Your public relations policy may be to "sell" your company on the basis of its interest in the customers, but if the customers find that they are being short-changed on their purchases, the selling will be done in reverse. Public relations can be harmful as well as valuable.

It takes time to get rid of unjust accusations. And by the same token, it takes time to make a reputation, and to keep it. Too often the public has found that between the reality of what it thinks of the university, for example, or a business concern, and what it really is, there is a great gap. This situation must be met on a long-term basis.

Ideas cannot be changed by miracles or medicine men operating in the area of public relations. An extended timetable, therefore, becomes a very important factor in eliminating or modifying the distortions in the public mind. Public opinion changes slowly except when, let us say, a new discovery is found on how to treat infantile paralysis, or when Pearl Harbor is destroyed (even here the public attitude had been conditioned to the dangers of Japanese trickery). If opinion changes slowly, as a rule, that is a good thing, because, if it changed swiftly, our world would be in a much more precarious condition than it actually is. Even fashion, which is normally highly volatile, can be so worked with that its transitions become orderly and its phases extended over longer periods than would be the case without planning.

The theorem, therefore, that a change in public opinion usually requires much time has an equally valuable corollary, that opinion, once changed, is apt to remain so for a satisfyingly long period. However, the slow-swinging pendulum nevertheless swings. Planning is consequently a continuous necessity. We must never forget that, because of swiftly increasing population, nobody is ever through in planning. As has been said: "The King is dead; long live the King!"

Planning has not only to be continuous, it has to be dynamic—it must be reviewed periodically, to bring it up to date. Plans made before the Korean conflict, for example, might soon be out of date when the American soldiers began to die at the hands of the Korean Reds. Thus, if we accept planning as a dynamic concept, it is essential that we provide a constant flow of ideas, to cope with new developments and changing public attitudes. The key word here, again, is flexibility. You cannot be rigid or even "set" in your program. Like a football quarterback who changes his signals when he sees a weakness in his opponent's defense, the public relations counselor must be ever alert to change his plans and his programs to meet the exigencies of the present scene. What may prove to be effective planning in 1955 may not be effective, or indeed, may be highly injurious, in 1958.

Continuity has still another and important face. It is reflected, as by a mirror, in the fact that, when an activity has no continuity, it runs the risk of losing impact, a status or quality that may have required years to achieve. One obvious reason for this type of loss lies in the competitive interests to which the population is subject. The old adage, "Out of sight, out of mind," holds in the area of public relations planning. This, joined with the crea-

tion of new publics through population growth, points up the need for a genuine dynamism in all of our work.

Let us take a closer look at population, which has been mentioned twice earlier. We now have a population growth each year of some three millions. Our birthrate is now at a record rate—and from all available evidence, the rate will continue at this peak for some years to come. With millions of new babies born each year, this means that every twenty-five years we will have an entirely new market, a new population, a new outlet for the colleges, for the business firms, for the welfare and institutional organizations. An organization that might have attained prestige and standing a generation ago may well become meaningless to the coming generation, if its public relations is geared to the past instead of the present or the future. You can easily think of a dozen well-known institutions, organizations, and products of a generation ago that have simply disappeared today. Public relations planning, by itself, might not have saved them. But the planning, if done with a sense of continuity, and with an eye toward new trends, developments and tastes, might well have extended the life of these useful entities into the present.

Migration is another powerful demand upon continuity of program. In the United States, the rate of migration is 20 per cent each year. This means that twenty people out of each hundred are in a locality different from the one they occupied the year before. This factor alone demands that any institution that is fraught with the public interest carry on its public relations as a continuing process. Otherwise it is bound to lose the all-important

impact previously mentioned. Perhaps this is why well-established institutions, such as Harvard, Princeton, and Columbia, which certainly do not need to be concerned with getting more students (they can't possibly admit more than a fraction of those who apply) still retain strong public relations offices. Public relations can help keep you on top once you have got there. But again, we must insist, the value of public relations depends entirely upon the worth of your institution, upon its policies or objectives.

Planning for a new program

It is all very well to maintain a public relations campaign once your institution has reached the top and is universally accepted and acclaimed. But what about the necessity of adequate planning for an unknown organization, or even beyond that, for an idea itself? Before an institution is formed, it is no more than an idea, a concept, in the minds of a man or a group of men. To put this concept into practice, to make it a reality, and then to get public acceptance of it, requires hard-headed, down-to-earth public relations planning. Assuming that the concept is sound—otherwise it will fail regardless of the public relations involved—what are the steps to follow in order to win public support and acclaim?

By way of a concrete example, I want to cite the case of an actual institution that started as an idea, a simple concept, and gradually came into being, aided by an effective program of public relations planning.

Several years ago a group of men decided that the time had come to build a new medical college in New

York City. None had been erected in more than fifty years.

A charter for a medical school was received from the Board of Regents by Yeshiva University in New York City. At this point we enter the planning stage. A number of questions were raised that had to be answered. To succeed, the project needed an immediate $10,000,000 for construction of the medical building. Would the public support the project? Was there enough need for it in the community or in the nation? How should the problem of fund raising be tackled?

These were top policy-making problems, but the public relations counselor, sitting in with the policy-making officials of the university, helped guide the planning. Certain other problems were posed that required considerable thought. What, for example, should it be named? The question of a name actually became highly important, because it might influence segments of the population, otherwise lukewarm, to render support, or on the other hand, to withdraw assistance.

When the choice was finally made (it was decided that the college should be called the Albert Einstein College of Medicine), the problem of planning arose once more. How could this name be most effectively presented to the public? It was decided to hold a small luncheon of not more than one hundred community leaders at the Princeton Inn, at which time the action taken (with the consent of Albert Einstein) would be officially presented to the public. The planning called for coverage by newspapers, radio, television, and the various other media of communication. Based upon the general public response,

the name was universally accepted as being not only appropriate for a medical school, but proper for the nonsectarian type of institution planned.

This was but the beginning. It was necessary to win further public support in a practical way—that is, by securing gifts and donations to make the college possible. Long-range plans were created, embracing special events to notify the public of developments, interviews with the president and medical director to present the story of the new project, special feature stories concerning the need for a new medical school in this country, and various other news stories and articles.

But this was the publicity phase of the program. Far more important were the actual factors that entered into the public relations planning. The important decision to be answered was simply this: How could this new medical school, still only a concept on paper, little more than a dream in the minds of a few devoted people, be generally accepted and approved, and thus be helped to come from the idea stage into the reality of ground-breaking and building?

Formation of prestige committees

It was necessary, first of all, to secure public approval by obtaining respected and responsible academic backing for the project. Accordingly, a committee of thirty, consisting of some of the most prominent and gifted educators in the country—education commissioners, college presidents, school superintendents, and other administrators—was founded, to serve as an Educators Sponsoring Committee. Those who joined this committee recognized the

fact that the new medical college was only a concept—but they believed that it was needed, and they gave their names to help turn the dream into reality.

Simultaneously, the planning called for the establishment of a Medical Advisory Committee, consisting of the nation's leading medical authorities. This committee was to be more than a "paper" group; it was actually designed to give advice and counsel to the new project. This it did, and continues to do, in good measure. But the formation of this advisory counsel helped stabilize the project and give it weight not only within the medical profession itself but with the general public. If it is true, as has often been said these days, that "a man is known by the company he keeps," then it is doubly true that an institution is judged by its backers and sponsors. By getting top educators and medical authorities to lend their names and influence to the project, the institution was put well on its way toward public acceptance and ultimate financial support.

Internal versus *external publics*

The planning thus called for recognition among both the internal publics and the external publics. Internally, it was essential that the project receive the blessing of the American Medical Association: without acceptance by this important accrediting body, the project would, of course, fail. It was necessary to gain the support of the doctors and physicians generally, of potential students, and of potential faculty members. For, without students and an adequate faculty, the project would not last long, if indeed it could begin at all. This was done by stressing

at all times the high medical standards set for the organization, by pointing to the type and caliber of men who stood behind it, and by making unequivocal promises that the project would maintain nothing but the highest possible standards and would attempt to carry out the best ethical practices.

Winning the external public required time and effective planning, too. Although, theoretically, the need for this medical college was accepted, in practice it was found that large segments of the public had already committed themselves to the support of a hundred and one other projects which also had public interest and merit. The planning had to be geared to point to the need for the project, and at the same time, to stress that it was not in any way underrating or competing with any of the existing agencies, institutions, or organizations working along allied or similar fields.

The plans called for a conference, or conclave, to bring together top officials in the field of education, medicine and public life, in order to tell the story better. This conference, held in the fall of 1953, proved successful in reaching the immediate internal public—the sponsors of the institution, the doctors involved, and interested community leaders—and in reaching the external public through the various media of communication, such as the press, radio, television, and magazines.

Here publicity and public relations worked closely together. The question of timing was important—When should the conference be held? Who should be invited? What subjects should be considered by the participants? These and similar questions had to be answered before

the conference was finally planned. Again, the objectives were always uppermost in mind. Why hold the conference in the first place? For prestige? For information? For public acceptance? For financial reasons? It took serious planning on the part of the public relations counselor, in conjunction with the top policy makers of the project, to determine the objectives, to map out the plans of the conference, and to develop an effective program.

Since this was a new project, long range plans were vital. The public relations must be geared for at least ten years ahead. It will take fully that much time to get public acceptance of the project, to have it "arrive." For the proof of the institution's good will will be determined, to a large extent, by its graduates. Does the new medical school live up to its advance promises? Is it operated on a completely non-sectarian basis as it originally said it would? Does it maintain the highest standards of scholarship? Are the doctors who come out of the Albert Einstein Medical School on a par with, or perhaps superior to, those who are graduated from other medical institutions?

Obviously, these questions cannot be answered today or tomorrow. It will take five, ten, or even twenty years before the answers are in and a valid judgment can be made. In the meantime, though, long-range planning must assume that the project will live up to its obligations and will do the job that it has promised to do.

All planning must be honest

For the sake of immediate publicity, on occasion, the public relations counselor may countenance dishonest or

(more likely) borderline events. This is a fatal error. In time, the public will recognize whether you have the steak as well as the sizzle on your platter. All planning must be honest. Whether your planning is for a college, a business concern, a civic organization, or the circus, it must have integrity and must keep faith with the public. A disillusioned public can soon enough destroy the best-laid plans of even the best public relations director or the wisest management.

Honesty and integrity are cardinal principles in all public relations planning. There is oftentimes a tendency, particularly on the part of some segments of the public relations field, to adopt a sensational attitude, to bowl over all opposition with broad, sweeping strokes. This is not always the best policy. Certainly, if the public relations program promises one thing, and the organization or institution ignores that promise and carries out another policy at variance with the one set forth, the public cannot be blamed for viewing future plans with skepticism.

The Tactics of Public Relations

A. Robert Ginsburgh

TACTICS is a word of art. It comes from the vocabulary of the soldier. In military terms, it means the skillful use of the men and the weapons available to achieve on the field of battle an objective ordered by higher command, as part of a greater strategic plan. As applied to public relations, it means the skillful employment of the tools and methods used to convey thought for the purpose of achieving in the minds of people a favorable reception for an idea as part of an overall program.

In each field, a knowledge of the men, the tools, and their capabilities is the first prerequisite for successful tactics. In each, the means must be properly arranged in relation to each other and to the objective sought. They must be deployed in accordance with a well laid out plan to enable the tactician to exploit fully the capabilities of the means at his disposal.

Let us begin, therefore, with some understanding of the tools and how they may be best used to achieve pub-

lic relations ends. The basic tools are: the written word, the spoken word, and the graphic presentation of ideas.

The written word

The most important medium of the written word for public relations purposes is the newspaper. The technique of newspaper writing and editing is not a part of this study. From a public relations standpoint, the problem is to get the news before a newspaper in a way that is accurate, interesting, timely, and worthy of its space. The most practical way is to have the story written out and delivered to the newspaper in a form, usually referred to as a release.

The publisher of an American newspaper wants news, but he has to be selective. He chooses what he considers most significant, most interesting, most human. What may appear as an important piece of news to one's own enterprise does not necessarily have public appeal. In sending a release to the press, there must be good reason to believe that what it contains will meet the basic standards of what is newsworthy.

In preparing releases to newspapers, it is important to keep in mind the element of competition for space between the story intended for publication and the rest of the news from other sources. The newspaper publisher has advertising space which may be purchased for the promotion of ideas or sales. If it is his news space that is wanted, the story must be newsworthy.

In some circles there is a tendency to follow the buckshot process in the preparation of releases, get out a large number and then be satisfied with a reasonable bat-

ting average of acceptability. Such a system seldom works over a long period. A few poor releases of little or no news value may result in a prejudice against all releases from the particular agency.

In the preparation of a release, some writers find it convenient to keep before them constantly this set of questions that they ask themselves: Is it new? What is its impact—local or national? Who is interested? Is it unusual, dramatic, or mysterious? Does it indicate progress? Would you read it yourself if you were not engaged in its production?

Having answered these questions to their satisfaction, these writers then, and only then, begin to prepare the manuscript. In its preparation, we must never overlook the established newspaper technique of beginning or at least including in an early paragraph the who, when, where, why, and how.

Releases may be general for all daily or weekly newspapers, or they may be specialized to reach a given newspaper or a group with a special clientele of readers. Newspapers may be metropolitan dailies or country weeklies. They may be specialized or general. They may be written in foreign languages. They may be intended for racial groups, for labor or business readers. The circulation of the specialized newspapers runs into millions and individually they often reach people in a way that the metropolitan newspaper is unable to do. Most papers are sold. Some are dropped at the door without cost.

The character, the taste, the customs, the sensitivities, and the prejudices of specialized newspapers must be considered in offering them news releases.

Releases may aim at special sections of the newspaper, such as the book review, the woman's section, the sports or the theatre pages, society or science, the Sunday supplement or the obituary column. These are specialties, but the general principle that the release must be newsworthy—at least to those who read the specialized column—normally must continue to be observed.

The military services have developed and used to good advantage a special type of news story known as the home-town release. It is widely used now. Colleges find it particularly effective.

In the 20's, the services learned that home-town releases could keep the people interested and informed at a time when the more orthodox news presentations failed to attract attention. It was a time of relatively small interest in our armed forces. The home-town release was especially tailored for small-town use and proved most effective in grass-roots regions.

The home-town release works on the simple success story of "home town boy makes good." In the 20's, travel outside the United States was relatively limited, so that, when an army transport sailed for Honolulu or Manila, there was the possibility of a home-town news story on every passenger aboard. When a soldier, particularly overseas, was promoted or transferred, or when he completed a special course of instruction or an interesting assignment, his local newspaper was furnished the story of his success. Normally the story was published.

The home-town release, as developed in the services, covers not only the accomplishment of the individual "hero" but gives details on his military career, says some-

thing about the base where he is stationed, and ties in the activities of the latter with an overall military program. The release, therefore, gives an opportunity for carrying a general message of the service to the town, as well as the news about the local boy who made good.

The technique of the home-town release can be adapted for wide use by government agencies as well as private organizations. Unless the achievement of the local boy is outstanding, the chances of breaking the home-town release into a metropolitan newspaper are not good. Its potential news value to an editor increases as the size of the community served decreases. The small-town newspaper welcomes such releases.

So far we have dealt with efforts to get items into the newspapers that the enterprise desires for the furtherance of its cause. There are times when an enterprise considers it to its interest to keep news away from the press. Attempts to deny reporters legitimate news seldom succeed.

There are times when an enterprise gets itself into newspaper columns without any effort—often in spite of it. A catastrophe overtakes the organization. There is a scandal, a suicide, a murder, a bankruptcy, a strike. Then the press is sure to take the lead. It will seek out the enterprise and its leading officials and dig out the news for itself. When that happens, it is good public relations, from a long-range standpoint, to face the music, answer questions, present facts truthfully, and be prepared for the consequences. It often helps to get out a release stating the facts in the case and presenting one's own position. It may or may not change the situation materially,

but it will at least satisfy a feeling that the attempt was made to put the case in its best possible light. Chances are that your version will get printed.

The catastrophe type of news which can arise in almost any enterprise plagues the armed forces especially. An airplane crashes. A submarine sinks. An artillery piece explodes. The action is usually spectacular. Usually there are casualties. Americans lose their lives. The American press rightfully feels that the American people are entitled to all the facts. But often equipment of a secret nature is involved and there is a grave security risk in making public all of the facts.

The services now have learned from experience that news of such disasters cannot be suppressed. They immediately send experts to the scene of the trouble to make a study of the disaster. With them go public relations officers whose duty it is to help the press get the story in a way that will not compromise security. The press and the public relations officers do not always see the situation eye to eye, but as a result of experience the news coverage is working well. The public relations officers often arrange for press conferences with the experts, and the reporters get the opportunity to ask challenging questions.

The services still hold back names of casualties resulting in death until Washington is advised and the next of kin are determined and informed. The reason the notice comes from Washington is that, in the headquarters of the services, the available records can best be checked to make as certain as possible that no mistake in identity has been made. For the most part, the press has learned to accept this delay gracefully, and the services,

on the other hand, waste little time in getting the report to the next of kin.

Not all the facts leading to a disaster are easy to determine in a brief time. Investigations run along for days, weeks, and even months. At the end of an investigation, a report is made and the newspapers are given access to all but facts of a security nature. These reports have not hesitated to criticise men and machines when the facts warranted such action. From a public relations standpoint, the fact that they are made available to the press, even when they show fault, is helping to create confidence in all the reports issued by our armed forces.

The press conference referred to above is growing in importance as a public relations medium. The President's press conference is a news event of great significance, and week after week reporters pile into the White House to get his views. The conference gives the President an opportunity to present facts, to discuss policies, to arouse public interest in government, and to win and hold support for his administration. It is one of the most effective public relations tools of our democracy.

In government, business, education, and other activities, the press conference and the interview are being used as acceptable sources of worthy news by the press. They are direct and human methods of keeping an enterprise and the men who lead and operate its actions before the public.

These press conferences and interviews may arise because the subject wants to talk, or they may result from circumstances that make it desirable for him to talk.

Many people, especially beginners, find the press conferences a real ordeal. Often people start with a resentment against the fate that puts them on the griddle and never get used to it. However, many find, after some experience, that they like it.

At the beginning, there seems to be a feeling of fear. The interviewers may ask embarrassing questions. They may get personal. They may hit below the belt. Sometimes they do. All the risks are worth considering. But his weighing should be done before the person agrees to give a press conference. Once committed, it is well for him to submit gracefully and above all else to come thoroughly prepared.

In preparing for a press conference or interview, it may be well to get a tough, hard-boiled member of one's own staff to throw every possible kind of question at you in a pre-public test. Let him ask questions of the "When did you stop beating your wife" variety even to exasperation, because no matter how well prepared you may be, there will be some surprises at the interview. It is well, too, for the man being interviewed to take the initiative. Let him have a prepared statement, with or without notes. It at least gives him an opportunity to present some basic views. It provides a starting point from which the reporters can take off.

Some officials like to start with a statement such as "Let's have your questions." To the expert, that is as good an opening as any because he usually finds a way of presenting his side during the course of the discussion. There is always a risk, however, that control may get away from him if he turns the initiative over to his interrogators. It

is safer for most people to start a press conference with a well-prepared statement.

The interview or the press conference is in a sense a game. The rules require courtesy and patience on all sides. One must think of his interrogators not only in terms of their individual opinions, but also relative to what views their publishers and editors may hold. Those may not be the same as their own. Often a reporter asks a question which he would prefer to skip. He may be asking it for his editor or the readers of his particular journal. Experienced public officials recognize these facts and often keep on the best of terms with reporters representing newspapers most hostile to their administration.

Occasionally a public official shows resentment toward his questioner. Some have been known to deliberately pick a fight with a reporter. Such exhibitions seldom enhance the position of the official or his program and are never accepted gracefully by the rest of the writing fraternity.

Books and magazines form another set of media that depend on the written word. The newspaper reader usually throws his paper away after he has read or merely scanned it. Magazines are often kept, reread, and passed on to others. Books become more or less permanent possessions. They are kept for reference. Magazines and books, therefore leave more lasting impressions than newspapers.

Magazine editors have their own staffs to gather their stories. From a public relations standpoint, it is highly desirable that they be given every co-operation

when they come in search of a story. Magazines do buy unsolicited articles and stories. Their editors, however, are very sensitive to attempts to use their pages for propaganda or special purposes unless they themselves are sympathetic to the cause. It is extremely important, therefore, to tailor an article for a magazine according to its known and established principles.

There is a special type of magazine of growing importance described as the house organ. It circulates within the family, among the employees of the enterprise. World War II gave a great impetus to its growth. The Industrial Services Division of our armed forces, whose responsibility it was to stimulate war production among workers, found the house organ very helpful. Through its columns every war worker was helped to realize the importance of his job and of the tool that he was producing toward victory in battle. A house organ is an intimate small-town newspaper, and under a good editor contributes to the morale of the readers and keeps them posted on management policies. The balance between news and management talks must be carefully observed to keep the house organ popular among its readers.

Some other means of communicating ideas through the written word which may be used with varying degrees of success in public relations are letters, leaflets, and pamphlets.

The letter to be effective must be personal. It need not be an individual letter. It may be addressed to a mass group, but each recipient must be made to feel that there is in it a special message for him. The interests, the back-

grounds, and the character of those addressed must be kept constantly in mind. The appeal may be financial. It may be religious or political, but the writer must set up a common bond between himself and the recipient which will make him feel that the communication was intended especially for him. Direct mail campaigns, often supplemented by telegrams, have won nominations, swung elections, influenced votes, and sold products of all sorts. Their style, their form, the timeliness of their arrival, the action demanded must be carefully considered. Where action is required, it should be simple.

Moreover, executives have grown to realize that every letter that leaves an office has a public relations impact. It may carry good tidings. It may convey disappointing information, but in each case the person addressed must be made to feel that his interest has been considered and all consideration that was possible, or that could reasonably be expected, was given to it.

The letter as a form of presentation must be more than a single shot. There must be follow-up letters. Those who respond favorably must be further cultivated and their good will continuously maintained. Mailing lists are standard equipment in public relations programs.

Leaflets and pamphlets are basically letters, of more than normal length, dressed up in forms appealing to the eye, the heart, and the mind. Leaflets have caused enemy soldiers to desert their cause and surrender. Leaflets, placed behind the Iron Curtain, keep alive faith in the free world.

Pictures are especially valuable for pamphlets. Charts

help. The pamphlet may be intended to sell a product or a service. It may be the report of a treasurer or a board of directors. It is most effective when it attracts attention by its make-up and holds interest by its copy.

Pamphlets are very valuable in recruiting campaigns. A recruiter seldom gets an enlistment as a result of a single personal contact. He must give the person something to take home, to look at, to show to others, friends and relatives . . . The contents must be both appealing and convincing.

A pamphlet may be just a single sheet, distributed in wholesale lots from door to door, called a throw-away. The throw-away too often becomes literally descriptive of its fate. It must be made so appealing that a quick glance at it compels its reading.

It takes great skill to edit and put out an effective pamphlet. The quality of the paper, the human interest of the pictures, and the arrangement of the editorial and pictorial matter in relation to each other must be worked together to appeal to the reader. The purpose of the publication may be to get action, to arouse passion or pity, or to inform. The pamphlet has been used to great advantage in appeals for funds. It has been effective in patriotic and humanitarian programs.

Now that we have considered some of the aspects of the written word as a public relations tool, let us turn to the spoken word.

The spoken word

The spoken word presents itself in a number of ways—conversations (social, professional, and commercial),

public speeches, sermons, lectures, interviews, hearings, briefings, debates, discussions, and other oral communications. The audiences are reached by the normal voice, or the sounds are carried to the listener with the aid of a loudspeaker, the telephone, the radio, or television.

Since the voice is the vehicle of the spoken word, it requires fitness to convey the idea. For most people, particularly in conversation, a voice to be effective must be well modulated, firm, and sincere. In the days before the loud speaker, and the microphone, something more than conversational tone was demanded. Before a political crowd, speakers had to raise their voices and even shout. Today, that is no longer necessary.

There are mechanical means that can carry the voice without any added effort on the part of the speaker. All he needs do is carry on the way he would in an ordinary conversation. However, there is always a temptation to raise the voice when a speaker feels that some of his listeners may be at a distance from him. Although the telephone people have probably made no study of the subject, any one who has listened to a long-distance telephone conversation recognizes the tendency to shout, even on the part of men and women who have normal, well modulated voices. For the average person the conversational tone of voice should suffice to convey the spoken word, regardless of the size of the audience or the distance between the speaker and his listeners.

The art of conversation is worth cultivating by all who plan to speak from the platform. The art is far from lost. There are good conversationalists. They always have something to say, something interesting or significant. A

good conversationalist knows what he is talking about. He talks about subjects of which he has had some experience or to which he has given some thought and study. He talks to the point. He does not drag out his words or belabor his thoughts. He fits his conversation to his environment, to the character, the experience, the age, and the culture of those he is addressing. He is interesting in a drawing room with mixed company and equally interesting in a lockerroom full of men. He appears at ease with himself and puts his listeners at ease.

A good speaker shows the qualities of a good conversationalist. He has something to say. He says it in an interesting way. He adjusts himself to the environment of his listeners. He develops some common point or experience with them. He holds their attention. He is brief and direct. He presents facts. He uses humor. He persuades. He may criticize, but unless he is a clergyman it is better that he not scold, and even the clergy are more effective if they scold only in moderation. The speaker may make an emotional appeal but he must first be deeply and genuinely moved himself.

Appeals to prejudice may be temporarily effective, but for long-term public relations purposes they should be avoided. The Lincoln principle about fooling the American people still holds good. The effective speaker puts himself vicariously in the place of those he is addressing and plans the presentation of his words and ideas in a sequence that, to them, would be natural, orderly, logical, and convincing.

Good speakers may be born, but most of them are made. Few of the prominent public speakers today began

with a love for speaking. Many of them have taken to public speaking as part of the job. Once committed to a speech, whether it be a maiden effort or part of an accepted routine, the successful speaker acts and talks as if he likes to do it. And he must really grow to like it. The audience is quick to recognize the remarks made out of a sense of compulsion, and their effectiveness from a public relations standpoint is lost. The audience prefers an impromptu talk given without notes, but what often appears to have been given "off the cuff" is usually the result of hours of planning. Once a person has reached a certain post of recognition in his business or profession, he would do well to figure out in advance of attending a conference or a dinner what he would say if called upon, even if his name is not on the speakers' list.

A good speech, like any effective project, must be carefully planned. Any effective plan for any purpose normally begins with a reconnaissance of the situation: Where will the speech be made? What is the occasion? What is the nature of the audience? Is it likely to be friendly or hostile? Why has the invitation been extended? Why has the speaker been selected? What is there in his experience and training that makes this audience a proper forum for him? Are there other speakers on the program? Who are they? In what order do they appear? Who precedes the particular speaker? Who follows? Who introduces him? How much time has been allotted for the remarks? Will there be a question period? Will the press be represented? Will the talk be carried by radio or television?

The answers to these questions should set the stage

for the delivery of the speech. Next to consider is the nature of the message to be delivered. It must be appropriate to the occasion and to the audience. Sometimes the speaker is given the subject. More often, he is able to pick his own specialized field.

After deciding upon the subject, the basic gathering of the raw data follows. Facts are paramount—facts out of one's own experience, facts out of the experience of others, facts culled from books, magazines, facts established through painstaking research. The assembly of facts should be thorough, objective. It is well to put the facts down in writing. Then the facts should be organized and a first rough draft written out. Then comes the editing job, continuing to edit, re-editing. The editorial process of selection and rejection of the material often takes more time than the preparation of any of the drafts.

It is wise not to try to cover too many phases of a subject, but concentrate, rather, on a thorough and faithful treatment of a special field. The best speeches on national defense, for instance, are those that develop a brief for a long-range bomber, for the foot soldier, or the submarine, rather than an omnibus that carries the whole subject of national defense in all of its implications.

By the time the speech is ready for delivery, the speaker should be so full of his subject and have his material so well organized that he feels equal to giving the speech if he loses or forgets his notes. A speech that is read is never as effective as one without notes. However, men in prominent positions of public responsibility run such a serious risk of misquotation or quotation out of text that they usually prefer, for the sake of the record,

to read the speech. When this is done, it is wise to read the speech over so many times ahead of the delivery that the speaker can afford to look up from the manuscript for relatively extensive periods.

What has been noted about speeches is generally applicable to all forms of oral presentation, even including sermons. In fact, there are techniques employed by ministers that can be used effectively in public relations. The Sermon on the Mount is the classic model. It is brief. It is direct. It is startling in its opening. It immediately commands attention and sustains interest throughout. It gets on familiar ground and sets up a bond of understanding between the speaker and the audience. It carries a message, indeed, a soul-stirring message. It apparently did not satisfy all its hearers. There were some who mocked at the words, according to the *Bible*. Perhaps, they were simply posing. The words have come down impressive through the ages.

The business conference, the association meeting, the staff gathering of an organization's executives—all depend on the spoken word to translate ideas into actions and to gain for them a favorable reception. The rules for good speech writing and good speech making have their application for such meetings.

Conferences other than those with the press are a daily routine in human association. Far too many of them waste time and accomplish little or nothing. If at all possible, it is well to know in advance what the subject of a conference will be, who will attend, and what are their

views on the matter scheduled for discussion. The conference has public relations capabilities, but the one who succeeds in getting his views accepted is usually the man who has prepared himself most thoroughly in advance of the meeting. This is the man who knows the meaning of careful briefing and the necessity for ideas. He gets what he wants because he can be almost certain that most of his confreres have come unprepared.

So far we have discussed some aspects of the use of the spoken word under conditions where the speaker and his audience are visible to one another, where they may react on each other partly because of the element of propinquity. The response or lack of response shown by his audience gives the speaker an opportunity to adapt himself to his environment. His audience is more or less captive. Some may walk out on him, but as a rule most American audiences are too polite to do so.

When it comes to talking to an unseen audience over the radio or television, the listener, without embarrassment to anyone, just moves a dial and succeeds thereby in walking out on the speaker. In talking over these media, therefore, the matters of voice, manner, simplicity of style and expression, clarity, brevity, and logic become even more important than they are in addressing the visible audience. It is over the radio and TV that the conversational style and the tone and feeling of sincerity are especially desirable.

There is always a time limit on the air, and every second must be exploited to get and hold the listener's attention and interest. All effective radio and TV pro-

grams are thoroughly prepared and even every word carefully measured. Presentations must not only be accurate as to fact but also be realistic as to impression. Time on the air is expensive. There are some sustaining programs given by stations as a public service and not bought by advertisers. Programs of a public nature often qualify for such time in the discretion of the station.

Radio and television programs, like newspapers and magazines, carry special features to appeal to special groups—children, women, sports fans, lovers of jazz or classical music. There are disk jockeys, soap operas, and quiz shows with special appeals. Material prepared for any of these special programs must be consistent with their established character. The listener has a wide choice. He is the arbiter of what to listen to and when.

It is estimated that there are more than 105,000,000 electrically operated radio sets in American homes as well as 6,000,000 more battery operated ones. Another 25,000,000 are in automobiles. There are over 32,000,000 TV sets. The radio and TV audience is enormous, but there is competition for every segment of it, and the competition is very keen.

The form of presentation, the time of presentation, the day of the week, the hour of the day or night, the duration of the broadcast are important factors. What program precedes? What follows? What programs on other networks compete? What of the personality of the announcer of the program, the news or sports broadcaster who will more or less cover the story? The answers to all these and many more questions are important from a public relations standpoint. Each of them may influ-

ence the reaction of an audience to the program planned. Ordinary slips in conversation are frequently forgotten but a wrong word on a radio broadcast, an expression of a bias or prejudice, and a sponsor may be irreparably injured. These are some of the reasons why all good announcers and commentators write out as much of their presentation as possible before going on the air.

Graphic presentation

We come now to the graphic presentation of ideas, i.e., techniques in which the picture is dominant. It is generally accepted that a photograph can tell a story more effectively than many words, than 10,000 words, according to the often-quoted maxim attributed to the Chinese.

The picture as a means of telling a story, and even as a substitute for a written story, received its great impetus after World War I with the advent and the development of the tabloid newspaper. The increased use of photographs has spread to all newspapers, and very few journals have escaped the trend. More and more, the picture is crowding the news column as a form of news expression. News and picture magazines have been established, and their success is evidence of the appeal of pictures to American readers. The picture is an effective tool of public relations techniques.

Most newspapers and magazines have their own photographers. They prefer to take their own pictures. In many cases, however, they do accept and publish photographs offered them that have a special appeal. In offering pictures to an editor, it is well to adhere to the same principles previously outlined for the presentation of

written copy. It is helpful to accompany the picture with an appropriate caption or a description of the picture content. Basically, however, the picture that speaks for itself in its appeal to a public or human interest has the best chance of acceptance. The picture should tell a story, an interesting story. It should be artistic and, if possible, dramatic or unusual.

Where newspapers take their own pictures, a great deal can be done by a release or a telephone call to attract the editor's attention to an event of significance that has picture possibilities. In asking an editor to have his photographers cover an event, one should continue to hold before him the requirements of a newsworthy story.

Advertisements in newspapers, magazines, or car cards and on billboards are most frequently combinations of photographs and specially prepared copy to attract attention and get action from those who read them. Advertising is an expensive operation, but those engaged in cultivating public interest in an idea, a program, or a product find it a most effective means of winning and holding adherents.

The motion picture is at present probably the most effective of the graphic presentations. There are thousands of motion picture theatres in the United States, and they are attended every week by millions of people. They have a great impact on the American mind and influence millions abroad. Every picture exhibited abroad leaves a definite impression of the United States, its people, their customs, manners, morals, and politics.

The newsreel is a combination tabloid newspaper and motion picture in a series of rapid actions. Its editors try to keep their presentations objective and newsworthy along the standards established for newspapers and magazines. To attract newsreel photographers to an event, its sponsors must appreciate its possible newsworthiness and the extent of its appeal. The newsreel strives for a national appeal, and often an international one. The same reel is exhibited all over the country—maybe all over the world—and it must seek out events of widest possible human appeal and interest.

The newest addition to the graphic media is of course TV, of which I discussed some characteristics and requirements under the spoken word.

TV is especially adapted for reaching the home audience. Here we have combined in one medium all of the problems of the newspaper, radio, the stage and the motion picture. It is a very effective public relations tool and its full capabilities have only been scratched.

Perhaps enough has been said about the wide variety of tools that are available to the tactician in the field of public relations. A knowledge of the capabilities of each of the individual tools, however, is not alone enough to make a successful tactician in the field. The military tactician who knows in full detail the capabilities and limitations of each of his weapons does not necessarily win battles. He must also know how to use his means in combination. Except in case of extreme necessity he must employ each for the primary purpose for which it was intended. There is little gain in destroying one-inch tar-

gets with sixteen-inch guns. There must be exercised a certain economy in the use of men and material. No one ever has the numbers and the quantities of supplies he would like to have. Supplies are always subject to restrictions and limitations.

These military factors have their counterparts in the field of public relations tactics. One always has the budget to contend with. It is impossible to use all the public relations media that may be available. It is not always wise to pour all the money into one medium.

To get the most out of all the different tools or weapons in the arsenal, there must be a master plan. Objectives must be clearly defined and kept in mind. All accepted media used to advancement or acceptance of ideas must be considered. Then, with the means at one's disposal, means paid for and those volunteered, a plan must be worked out that offers the most likelihood of success.

A public relations project that has no plan behind it in considerable detail often ends in chaos, confusion, and frustration. Nor is just having a plan an assurance of success. Often the best of plans go askew. Plans must be flexible and capable of change if the campaign develops unexpected weaknesses or special opportunities. There is an established military principle, however, that is applicable to all plans and may be worth keeping in mind. In essence it proclaims that a poor plan carried out with vigor and determination often can accomplish more than a good plan executed with indifference.

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The text of this book was set on the Linotype in eleven-point Electra, a type with a contemporary flavor, well suited to a book on techniques as modern as those of public relations.

Chapter heads are set in Metromedium with Electra italics. The book title of the title page and binding was lettered by hand. The paper used is Warren's Olde Style.